

M E M O R A N D U M

NAEB Adult Education Project: Radio Series, U.S.S.R.

December 7, 1951

TO: Consultants, Research-Specialists, Radio Personnel
FROM: C. Dale Fuller (410 Riverside Dr., Apt. 141, NYC 25)
SUBJECT: Progress report on the U.S.S.R. Series

1. Research memoranda are being submitted faster than they can be transformed into radio scripts. This is a happy state of affairs from my point of view and does not deter me from urging memo-writers who have not yet sent their research to me to do so as soon as possible. We need to have in hand all the materials now "in preparation" before we can successfully block out the additional subject matter areas for which we must seek programs. The great number of memos received this past week means that there may be no follow-up on a memo for several weeks after it has been received.

Memoranda received to date deal with the following subjects: the Soviet family, class structure, medicine, children's theaters, policy in the Far East, peace policy, factory life, personality types in the U.S.S.R., life in satellite areas, labor camps.

Memoranda contracted for and not yet received will consider: the Politburo, behavior of citizens when Soviet power is removed, Communism in the United States.

Obvious gaps which must be filled by additional materials include: agriculture, Soviet military strength, secret police, government structure, music and literature.

2. Our chief effort in New York at present is directed toward getting the first show on tape. We hope to have the script completed by December 15, approved (or revised) by the research specialist by December 22, and the show produced on January 1. If the first effort comes up to expectations, we may be able to turn out a program a week after the first of the year.

3. Whenever possible, scripts will attempt to portray in dramatic form what goes on deep within the heart and mind of the individual living under the communist system. Data on the politics, economics and policies of the U.S.S.R. will become secondary in the script, but such facts as are presented should have real rather than theoretical significance for the listener.

4. Inquiries about the use of the programs have already been received from Radio Free Asia, from representatives of the Israeli and Turkish governments, and from the radio station of West Berlin.

5. Under separate cover I am sending two items which will be of interest to participants in our project. One is a memorandum by Professor Mosely on "Why a Series about the U.S.S.R." prepared in August for the trustees of the Ford Foundation. The other is the text of Professor Fisher's talk, entitled "Hearing is Believing," given in November to the members of the NAEB. Also, I should like to

call the attention of those who might have missed it to the lead article in the New York Times Magazine Section on Sunday, November 25, by Mrs. Inkeles and Bauer, "Portrait of Soviet Russia by Russians."

6. Please consider the information in this memorandum as confidential. we wish no publicity about the series until several programs have been produced. It is then planned to engage the services of a competent public relations man to direct all publicity. Also, please regard as confidential the Mosely and Fisher items which you will receive later.

CDF:mf

People Under Communism

MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL MEMBER STATIONS OF NAEB

FROM: SEYMOUR N. SIEGEL

Herewith are copies of suggested releases for each of the programs which constitute the seven one-hour long programs of the "People Under Communism" series. These releases may be re-written completely, if you so desire.

The best way to make use of these is to mimeograph or duplicate each release - after filling in your station call-letters - and the time, day and date that the program is to go on the air. These should then be mailed to all the radio and newspaper editors in your area at least ten days to two weeks before air time.

You might use extra copies and send them directly to some of the important people in your institution and your community.

Please note that the use of the term "Release #1", etc., should not appear on your own copy.

Additional releases concerning the thirteen half-hour lectures, and the special half-hour documentary "Through the Iron Curtain" will be forthcoming.

We would be delighted to hear from you as to how you are making use of the audience building aid.

sns/t
encl. 7

Write Sy.
Add Copies
Copies to
Bureaus
✓ Sy

FROM: STATION WXXX
ADDRESS
PHONE

(RELEASE #1)

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

The story of how the Soviet Secret Police operates, how it developed, and where it appears to be going, is told in stirring dramatization and narrative in the first of a series of seven one-hour programs, entitled "Terror as a System of Power", which will be heard over Radio Station WXXX on -- (date) -- at -- (time) --.

The new documentary is the first in the series of programs under the general title of "People Under Communism" being presented as an Adult Education Project by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. George Probst of the University of Chicago is chairman of the NAEB Adult Education Committee which supervised script-writing and production.

If we are to prevent terror from spreading to more lands than already live under its shadow, we need to be familiar with the evil story of the Soviet Secret Police. "Terror as a System of Power" tells that story -- in the authentic language of the historical record -- without embroidery and without sensationalism. The practitioners of terror speak for themselves. The words of the victims come from official documents and the reports of living witnesses.

"Terror as a System of Power" was written by David Driscoll .. narrated by Alex Scourby .. and produced and directed by Frank Papp. The script was based on documented evidence and expert knowledge in the possession of Dr. Merle Fainsod, professor of government at Harvard University, and director of political studies at the Russian Research Center.

Dr. Fainsod not only the the author of books on American government, but also is well known for his writings on the government of the Soviet Union. He has traveled widely in Russia, and has interviewed many escapees from the Soviet Union.

"The manipulation of terror as a system of power is a delicate art," Dr. Fainsod said in commenting on the documentary. "A dictator in command of modern armaments and a secret police can transform his subjects into robots and automatons. But if he succeeds too well, he runs the risk of destroying the sources of creative initiative on which survival of his own regime depends. This is a problem which the Soviet dictatorship cannot evade. Over the long run, it may well turn out to be the rock on which the Soviet system will founder.

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
Address
Phone

(Release #2)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

NAEB PROGRAM EXPLAINS HOW SOVIETS SEEK TO MAKE MUSIC FIT STATE POLITICS

The story of how the Russian government and its agencies seek to compel music in Russia to reflect the ideology of the Soviet state is told in "Music to Order", the latest in the National Association of Educational Broadcasters series of one-hour programs bearing the series title of "People Under Communism".

"Music to Order" will be broadcast by Radio Station WXXX on -- (date) -- at -- (time) --.

Since 1948, Soviet composers have been compelled in the name of the "people" to bow to rigid party controls on the form and thematic content of the music they write. But it is the all-powerful party, and not the people, that determines what is "anti-people's" music and what is "pro-people's music."

What this Soviet policy has meant and is likely to mean in the nation's musical development is explored in a broadcast script prepared with the help of materials and counsel provided by Dr. Ernest J. Simmons, chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University. The work was produced and directed by Frank Papp.

Guests on "Music to Order" whose discussion on the program describes the plight of musical composers in the U.S.S.R. today are Deems Taylor and Henry Cowell, composers, and Nicolas Slonimsky, authority on Russian music. Dr. Simmons appears with the guests to help develop the discussion.

Commenting on the new program, Dr. Simmons, who has been a student of Russian literature and culture for about twenty years, said the discussion would show how destructive Soviet controls on composers have become and how they have forced "the free, soaring spirit of original genius" into the "mediocrity of conformity".

"The creative mind cannot be restricted to set forms and themes, or to a pattern of ideas, beliefs and loyalties prescribed by a political party," Dr. Simmons said. "Under such compulsions art withers and dies. And so will the greatness of Soviet music wither and die under the sweeping controls of the Communist Party."

FROM: STATION WXXX
ADDRESS
PHONE

(RELEASE #3)

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

The performance of Soviet MIG jets in the skies over Korea is tangible evidence of the industrial capabilities of the U.S.S.R., and the foundation of those capabilities is the Soviet factory. The industrial phase of Soviet power is surveyed in "The Men Who Make the MIGs", latest in the series of one-hour radio shows, under the general title of "People Under Communism", produced as an Adult Education Project by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

"The Men Who Make the Migs" will be heard on Radio Station WXXX on -- (date) -- at -- (time) --. The Soviet factory, we learn, is a major key to understanding the weaknesses and strengths of Soviet Russia. The Radio listener in this broadcast is taken inside one of these factories for a night and a day. The listener learns of its inner workings as these workings were exposed to the programs producers by Soviet engineers and workers who escaped to the West.

This new episode in the Russian radio story was written by Ralph Tangney and was produced and directed by Frank Papp. The script was based on materials supplied by Dr. Alex Inkeles, research director of the Harvard project on the Soviet Social System.

Author of "Public Opinion in Soviet Russia", Dr. Inkeles is research director of a project in which almost 500 former Soviet citizens were interviewed in the western zone of Germany in the fall and winter of 1950-51. In addition, he had access to questionnaires filled out by more than 2,000 former Soviet citizens about their experiences in Russia.

"It is in the nature of a totalitarian regime that it can mobilize all resource, to push through the programs which the all-powerful leaders regard as crucial," Dr. Inkeles said in discussing his documentary. "That is the fundamental strength of a totalitarian regime. But at what cost in machines, in men and, in the last analysis, in the loyalty of its harrassed citizens? There lies the great weakness of the totalitarian regime."

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
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Phone

(RELEASE #4)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

The spotlight of a new broadcast in the series, "People Under Communism" is thrown upon the way in which the Soviet government has placed all Russian playwrights under strict controls to make certain that only Soviet propaganda is presented behind the footlights. The new broadcast, "Drama to Order", like the remaining shows in the series, is an Adult Education Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

While there was Russian state censorship in the days of the Czars, it was mild compared to that of the Soviets today. The most pointed criticism of vicious Communist Party controls on drama now is the fact that most popular plays in the Soviet Union today are the great pre-Revolutionary Russian dramas written long ago when the Czars were in power.

The indictment against the present-day Soviet stage and its use almost exclusively as a propaganda weapon is drawn by Dr. Ernest J. Simmons, chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University, on the hour-long "Drama to Order" which will be heard over Station WXXX on -- (date) -- at -- (time) --.

Dr. Simmons serves as narrator for the presentation, which was produced and directed by Frank Papp. The script is based on materials and counsel provided by Dr. Simmons.

"The power of propaganda wielded by the Soviet stage should not be underestimated," according to Dr. Simmons, who has been a student of Russian literature and culture for twenty years. "For the huge superstructure of the Soviet theater is regarded by the State as one of its best instruments for forming the minds of its citizens.

"For there are hundreds of professional theaters and thousands of amateur ones, and the audiences yearly run into the millions. And its repertory is entirely controlled by the State."

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
Address
Phone

(RELEASE # 5)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

RUSSIAN LITERATURE MUST EXTOL SOVIETS, NAEB PROGRAM RELATES

By virtue of official U.S.S.R. government controls, Soviet literature today is obliged to reflect a negative sense of reality -- the idealization of life in the Soviet Union which the Communist Party foists upon the public, both as a reflection of Communist aspirations for the future, and as an opiate to minister to its present discontents.

How the Communist Party in Russia moves, through governmental machinery to convert practically all of what might be productive Russian literature, into little more than a Soviet propaganda mill is told in a one-hour broadcast "Literature to Order". The show is one of a series "People Under Communism", produced as an Adult Education Project by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

"Literature to Order", with all of its dramatic overtones, will be heard by radio listeners in this area on -- (date) -- at (time) --, over Radio Station WXXX.

Materials for the broadcast were supplied by Dr. Ernest J. Simmons, chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University. Dr. Simmons also acts as narrator for "Literature to Order". The program, like the others in the series, was produced and directed by Frank Papp.

Dr. Simmons has made five trips to the Soviet Union for research purposes. His biographies and critical studies of Pushkin, Dostoevski and Tolstoy are standard works.

"Communist theology -- if its literature can be accepted as being a mirror or it -- insists that badness can never succeed, at least only in the unsocialistic realism of the West and America," Dr. Simmons said. "Thus, socialist 'realism' in Soviet literature of today seems to have been transformed into the unreality of a kind of Soviet fairy tale in which the wicked stepmother, steeped in bourgeois survivals, always gets her just desserts in the end, and the persecuted heroine always marries the brave Communist hero and lives happily ever afterwards in the socialist paradise of the USSR."

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
ADDRESS
PHONE

(RELEASE #6)

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

The new series of seven one-hour programs under the general title of "People Under Communism" presented by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, will present "Pattern of World Conflict" on Radio Station WXXX on -- (date) -- at -- (time) --.

The program treats of Communist diplomacy in action, on the theory that to defend freedom we must know the aims, methods and techniques of Soviet rulers. The producers of the new broadcasts hold that in the conflict with world Communism the people of the free world cannot afford to be indifferent or cynical or over-emotional. We must be objective and exact because there is no other way in which we can understand the meaning of the conflict. And if there is no understanding, freedom is menaced.

"Pattern of World Conflict" was written by Joseph Mindel on the basis of material supplied by Dr. Philip E. Mosely, director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University. Frank Papp was producer.

During World War II, Dr. Mosely was adviser to the State Department. As such, he was an expert at the Moscow Conference in 1943, the Potsdam Conference in 1945, and at meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers at London and Paris in 1945 and 1946. He has spent an estimated 2,000 hours as a United States government representative in face-to-face negotiations with Russians on International Commissions.

In this broadcast in the new series we learn, through dramatization and narration, that the Soviet "Pattern of World Conflict" consists of four techniques -- propaganda, intimidation, negotiation and the seizure of power. As long as the two systems -- the Communist and the Democratic -- exist in the same world, we are told, they must be in conflict.

"Within the countries that are dominated today by the Soviet Union, and even within the Soviet Union itself, people hope that we will be strong to preserve the peace," Dr. Mosely said in discussing this broadcast. "But, we cannot make and keep friends and allies if we try to boss them around. We have to make a constant effort to understand their needs and their fears to make our own aims those which they can fully share and support."

FROM: STATION WXXX
ADDRESS
PHONE

(RELEASE #7)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

If the nations of the West are to help the peoples of Asia avoid the disastrous "short cut" which the Communists promise will lead the Asians to a fair share of the good things of life, we must understand what conditions make this Communist path so alluring.

All understanding of these conditions is conveyed in "The Music and the Dream", an hour-long broadcast in the series of seven one-hour documentaries with the group-title "People Under Communism", produced as an Adult Education Project by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. "The Music and the Dream" will be presented over Radio Station WXXX on -- (date) -- at -- (time) --.

The peoples of Asia and the Middle East, so little understood by us, want to be better known. They want to be respected and treated as equals, to be allowed to manage their own affairs, to have a fair share in the good things of life. They cannot fully understand, without our sympathetic help, that other countries have taken the course recommended by the Communists and have found themselves on a rough road to a dead end of stagnant despotism. On this program we will hear what some of the Asians are saying and learn what they are doing.

The script for "Music and the Dream" was written by Milton Geiger and narrated by Arnold Moss, with special music composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky. The show was produced and directed by Frank Papp. Materials and counsel for the broadcast were supplied by Dr. Harold H. Fisher, chairman of the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University.

Dr. Fisher is a radio commentator and author of several books on the Soviet Union. He served with the American Relief Administration in Russia, has traveled extensively in Asia, and is a scholar on Soviet policy in the Far East.

"A revolution is going on in Asia today", Dr. Fisher said in explaining his new documentary. "The Communists are trying to capture it and lead it away from the goals of liberty, equality and fraternity, and turn it through class wars and fear into a totalitarian dictatorship. We Americans can contribute to good will among Asia's millions by giving them our respect, our friendship and understanding, and with these a reaffirmation of the freedoms and responsibilities that are the foundation of our way of life."

TO ALL STATION MANAGERS OF NAEB STATIONS
FROM SEYMOUR N. SIEGEL

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Enclosed, herewith, are releases 1 through 7 in the lecture programs
of the "People Under Communism".

These releases should be utilized in the same manner as those in the
preceding series of Adult Education Project programs.

We would appreciate knowing to what use these are put.

Seymour N. Siegel

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
ADDRESS
PHONE

(RELEASE #1)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

RUSSIAN ANTI-CZAR REVOLT
LED TO SOVIETS, SAYS NAEB

The origins of Bolshevism will be discussed by Professor Merle Fainsod of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University in a spirited half-hour talk, "The Russian Revolutionary Movement and the Rise of Bolshevism".

The talk will be the first of several analyzing various phases of the Russian situation compiled to follow the dramatic presentations which made up the first broadcasts in the distinguished series, "People Under Communism", an Adult Education Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

Radio listeners in this area will have an opportunity to hear this discussion on the Russian Revolutionary movement over Station WXXX at -- (time) -- on -- (date) ---.

Professor Fainsod, who was one of the noted consultants in the compilation of material for the entire "People Under Communism" series, is one of the nations leading authorities on Russia. He has explained that to understand the rise of Bolshevism, it is necessary to know the background out of which it emerged. It is essential to understand the long tradition of protest, of revolution and of dreams of freedom on which the Russian revolutionary movement was nurtured.

Beginning with the Decembrist revolt in 1825, at the time of the death of Emperor Alexander I, and the accession of Nicholas I, Professor Fainsod traces the efforts of the liberal-thinking Russians to modernize the trend of their government, only to bring down upon the suffering and poverty-stricken Russian masses even greater repression than before.

The climax, as Professor Fainsod shows, came in the revolutions of 1917, which swept into power Lenin and his Bolsheviks. Once power was seized, the Bolsheviks marched inexorable toward the consolidation of dictatorship. The dream of freedom, which had moved successive generations to struggle against Czarist autocracy, ended in the new prison-house of Soviet totalitarianism.

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
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PHONE

(RELEASE #2)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

LOYALTY OF SOVIETS EXPLORED BY
PROFESSOR FAINSOD

It is important for the countries of the West to exploit the sources of internal disaffection which exists in the Soviet Union, but such exploitation is not the magic wand which will solve all our problems. Our major effort must be directed elsewhere -- toward rallying the military, political, economic and moral strength of the West to resist Soviet aggression.

Such are the conclusions of Professor Merle Fainsod of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, as voiced in a half-hour talk "The Loyalty of the Soviet People", to be presented by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. The talk will be part of the notable series, "People Under Communism", produced by the NAEB as an Adult Education Project.

The talk on Soviet loyalty will be broadcast by Radio Station WXXX on -- (date) -- at (time) -- .

It is in the non-Soviet parts of the world, Professor Fainsod finds, that the great opportunities for creative and constructive action beckon. It is there, through intensive and unedning rallying of the strength of the west, that our major energies must be concentrated.

"As long as the Communist ruling group retains its firm control of the police, party and administrative apparatus of the Soviet state," Professor Fainsod declares, "our efforts to undermine the political cohesiveness of the Soviet Union through propaganda can be of only partial effectiveness."

At one point, the speaker warns that the capacity of the totalitarian regime to mold the minds of the young while they are still plastic and malleable is a formidable weapon. Whether or not this indoctrination survives the trials and tribulations of later life, according to Professor Fainsod, it has played and may continue to play a role of crucial significance in replenishing the life energies of the regime.

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
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PHONE

(RELEASE #3)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

NAEB RADIO BROADCAST
PROBES SOVIET STRATEGY

The Kremlin in Moscow is prepared to move toward its goal of a Soviet dominated world as swiftly as the United States and its allies of the West permit, in the opinion of Merle Fainsod of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. The Soviet, Professor Fainsod believes, will not precipitate a world war in the future unless it feels sure it can win a cheap victory.

The conditions under which Russia might be willing to make the gamble of starting a new world conflict are outlined by Professor Fainsod in "The Aims, Strengths and Weaknesses of Soviet Strategy", a new program in the "People Under Communism" broadcast series, produced as an adult education project by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

The talk, which every American interested in the prospect for world peace will want to hear, will be presented over Radio Station WXXX on -- (date) -- at -- (time) --.

While Russia is waiting for the D-Day of its attack, Professor Fainsod says, she will test our defenses, political as well as military. She will thrust and probe wherever she thinks she can achieve gains with minimum risks. Russia, the speaker believes, will try to accumulate strength against the day she feels prepared to throw down the gauntlet to the West.

"The only alternative to total war," Professor Fainsod maintains, "remains a continuing effort to strengthen the West, to maintain the dynamics of economic expansion in the free world, to sustain the standards of mass welfare, and to demonstrate the unity, vigor and strength of the community of free nations."

As long as the Kremlin hesitates at opening a war, Professor Fainsod believes, it can be assumed that "it continues to appraise the risks of military action as greater than the tempting gains."

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
ADDRESS
PHONE

(RELEASE #4)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

NAEB BROADCAST EXPLORES
SOVIETY "THOUGHT CONTROL"

A discussion of the Soviet regime's monopoly of mass communication in Russia and the regime's consequent ability to control what the Soviet citizen sees and hears about events in the outside world, is featured in the latest of talks in the "People Under Communism" radio series currently being produced by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

The speaker for this newest talk, entitled "Thought Control in the Soviet Union", is Alex Inkeles of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, an international authority on the Soviet and one of the NAEB consultants for the complete "People Under Communism" series.

This story of universal adaptation by the Soviet government of the media of mass communication -- the newspapers, the radio, motion pictures, and even literature -- to the Communist Party's ends, will be told over Radio Station WXXX at -- (time) -- on -- (date) --.

In discussing the chances of the West to counteract the Soviet regime's monopoly of communications within the U.S.S.R., Professor Inkeles says that to find the answer one must look not so much to American counter-propaganda, as to factors internal to the Soviet system. For, he contends, the contradiction between the promise of Soviet propaganda and the realities of Soviet life is the greatest weakness of the regime's efforts to obtain the allegiance and support of its population.

Professor Inkeles notes that the amazing repetitiveness of Soviet mass communication strongly suggests that the Russian leaders have little faith in the extent to which the people have adopted the maxims put before them. After more than thirty years of Soviet rule, Professor Inkeles emphasizes, the Communist Party finds that it still cannot relax its extraordinary controls over mass communication, but must, in fact, intensify them.

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
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PHONE

(RELEASE #5)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

EDUCATIONAL RADIO ADDRESS UNMASKS
SOVIET ATTACK ON "VOICE OF AMERICA"

One of the major resources of the United States' arsenal in the post-World-War-II propaganda struggle with the Soviet Union has been the Voice of America, our State Department's periodic radio broadcast beamed to Russia designed to give an accurate picture of life in this country. Recognizing the importance of these broadcasts, the U.S.S.R. has marked the Voice of America out for constant attack.

The entire technique of the Russian regime to combat our broadcasts through attempted refutations in all media of Soviet government controlled mass communications is blisteringly exposed by Alex Inkeles of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University in "The Soviet Attack on the Voice of America", the latest in the notable series, "People Under Communism", produced by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

Radio listeners may hear this no-holds-barred expose of Russian attacks on the Voice of America when it is broadcast over radio station WXXX at -- (time) -- on -- (date) --.

In particular, Professor Inkeles will show Soviet propaganda has sought to create an image of the Voice of America in the minds of its potential audience designed to discredit it as a source of information, and thereby to produce a buffer against the impact of its message.

The central theme in the Soviet characterization of the Voice of America, defines it as the paid instrument of .. and servant of .. Wall Street. Soviet communications directly suggest that every informed person knows that behind the United States government stands the power of what the Russians call "monopoly capital" and that the American government is simply a tool of that power.

Accused of being the Voice of Wall Street, the Voice of America is attacked by the Soviets as not the "true" voice of America. The radio voice of America, say the Soviet propagandists, "thunders and slanders, mounting attack against peace." The genuine voice of America, according to the U.S.S.R. commentators, is heard when Paul Robeson, the baritone, sings "Polyushko", and when "simple people come to Madison Square Garden to greet the delegates of Russia."

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
ADDRESS
PHONE

(RELEASE #6)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

RADIO LISTENERS WILL HEAR
SOVIET "LETTERS TO THE EDITOR"

True self-criticism no longer exists in the Soviet Union, and has long been forbidden. Because, however, it serves the interests of the Communist Party leaders, a significant amount of popular criticism of defects in the functioning of Soviet institutions and personnel at the local level is permitted by the Party. The main channel provided for expression of this criticism "from below" is in the critical letters to the editors of the Soviet Press.

Alex Inkeles, of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, explains the nature of these critical letters to the editor, explains just how far they can go and analyzes their effectiveness and lack of effectiveness in "Letters to the Editor: Soviet Style", a new broadcast in the National Association of Educational Broadcasters distinguished series, People Under Communism, an Adult Education Project.

Radio listeners will hear this broadcast, with its many samples of typical Russian "letters to the editor" over Radio Station WXXX on -- (date) -- at -- (time) --.

More than most other resources available to the Soviet citizen, letters to the editor frequently get action. For almost all Soviet newspapers regularly print at the bottom of their Letters to the Editor columns, brief items reporting what official action has been taken on previously printed letters. Sometimes punishment of officials results from the publishing of these letters.

The most important limitation on the letter-writing system, however, is that the citizen writing the letter automatically exposes himself to potential political scrutiny in a society in which political misunderstanding can have serious consequences. Yet, the Soviet pattern of handling letters to newspapers is an important example of the efforts made by the Communist Party to create an impression of mass participation in the work of social control -- within the narrow limits set by the Party itself.

Because of the restrictions on the letters and their subject matter, the men in the Kremlin tend to become prisoners of their own system. They are told only what their subordinates know those men want to be told.

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX
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PHONE

(RELEASE #7)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

SOVIET SYSTEM STIFLES
TRUE LITERARY TALENT
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Not the least of the restrictions exercised by the Soviet government in Russia today are the controls exercised on literature by the leadership of the Communist Party. The imagination of the literary artist is fettered and compelled, through fear, to subscribe to a uniform, idealized conception of Soviet life prescribed by the Party as a propaganda device. The Party is not likely to change this policy in literature unless and until it changes its whole national and international line.

A talk outlining the controls that the Soviet hierarchy puts on what the Russians read will be given over the radio by Professor Ernest J. Simmons of the Russian Institute at Columbia University. The half-hour outline, entitled "The Soviet Literary Straitjacket", will be presented as part of the distinguished series "People Under Communism", produced as an Adult Education Project by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

"The Literary Straitjacket" program will be heard by radio listeners over station WXXX on -- (date) -- at -- (time) --. Professor Simmons was one of the consultants who provided the materials used in the writing of the entire "Communism" series.

Professor Simmons finds that the Soviet restrictive policy has brought about a stagnation of literary accomplishment. The situation, he feels, is a reflection of the antagonism felt by writers of genuine talent toward the literary controls and the fear-inspiring methods employed to implement them. After six years of full operation, Professor Simmons says, it is now possible to see how this uncompromising dictation has brought Soviet literature to probably its lowest level in thirty-five years of development.

But the Russian public is now found to be undergoing a revulsion to this "canned" literature. "People," Professor Simmons says, "are not buying the novels and audiences refuse to attend performances of boring contemporary plays. The sale of classical Russian literature and attendance at pre-revolutionary plays are on the increase. The Party purpose of propaganda on behalf of the transition from Socialism to Communism is meeting a defeat in literature.

FOR RELEASE: DECEMBER 6th

NAEB SERIES WEIGHS
RUSSIAN POWDER KEG

A new radio series, as up-to-date as today's headlines, because it will deal with the cause of the world's most explosive headlines today -- Russia -- is about to be presented as an Adult Education Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. The first of the series will be released on December 7th. The new presentation will bear the series title of "People Under Communism".

Because Russia has become the international menace that it is, and a correct estimate of Soviet power and intentions may be a matter of life or death in the next ten years, the NAEB believes that a series like that now projected will help the public to become well-informed and alert. The programs have been made possible under a \$300,000 grant from the Fund for Adult Education established by the Ford Foundation.

As the discussions and dramatizations unfold, radio listeners will learn with stark reality of the iron grip that the Soviets have put upon art, literature, drama and music -- intellectual pursuits which in the Western world are characterized by freedom.

There will be seven one-hour shows, and thirteen half-hour lectures, followed by a half-hour documentary.

The horror of the Soviet Secret Police in action will be the message of the first of the Russian broadcast studies -- "Terror As A System of Power" -- based on materials furnished by Dr. Merle Fainsod of the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, one of five consultants for the Russian series. Other topics will cover the engineer in Soviet Society, preventive repression and the efforts of the Communists to capture Asia and convert it into a totalitarian dictatorship.

"With every session of the United Nations, with every move made on the international checker-board in virtually every part of the world, we realize that for our own protection we should find out all we can about Russia -- its strengths -- and its weaknesses -- the significance of its foreign policy," Graydon Ausmus, president of NAEB said, in discussing the new series. "We feel that these programs are very timely and that American radio listeners cannot well afford to miss them."

In addition to Dr. Fainsod, four other noted authorities on Russia served as consultants for "People Under Communism" presentations. They were Alex Inkeles of the Russian Research Center, Harvard University; Harold H. Fisher of the Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford University; Philip E. Mosely, Russian Institute, Columbia University and Ernest J. Simmons, Russian Institute, Columbia University.

Member stations of the NAEB Tape Network, a cooperative organization devoted to the dissemination of outstanding radio programs, will broadcast the Russian series, but the recordings will be made available to United Nations Radio, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of America, the Australian Broadcasting Commission and All-India Radio. The series will also be made available to commercial station operators on a sustaining basis.

In spite of Soviet efforts to keep its vital statistics and secrets securely locked behind the "Iron Curtain", resources for interpreting the USSR are fairly extensive, and the NAEB and its project consultants have made liberal use of many of them. Much of the program material comes from Russian emigres who, in spite of the difficulties in getting out of Russia, have succeeded in escaping.

People Under Com
January 10, 1952

Memorandum to Messrs. Merle Fainsod
Harold Fisher
Alex Inkeles
Philip Mosely
Ernest J. Simmons

As chairman of the Special Committee of the NAEB, whose members are:

Mr. Richard Hull, director of station WOI-TV, AM and FM,
at Iowa State College;
Mr. Harold B. McCarty, director of radio station WHA at
the University of Wisconsin, and president of the Wisconsin State Radio Council;
Mr. Seymour Siegel, president of the NAEB, and director
of radio station WNYC, the Municipal Broadcasting System,
New York City,
Mr. Parker Wheatley, director of the Lowell Institute Cooperative Broadcasting Council, and general manager of
radio station WGBH in Boston,

I am sending you the attached materials.

Our Committee, having assembled all the evidence available, spent two days considering the problems which have developed in the program series on the U.S.S.R. The attached directive, which states the principles and procedures which should govern the project, is the result of these deliberations. I call your particular attention to the five appendices, which are of importance in understanding this statement of policy and operational procedures. The entire directive is based upon previous experience by the Committee members in developing educational programs, and upon our understanding of the purposes of the project.

It goes without saying that the Committee does not expect each consultant to be individually responsible for all programs to be produced, but with the aid of all of you, we hope to have assistance in securing the services of other outstanding American scholars who can serve as consultants to individual programs.

It should be made clear that the Committee, with the information that it has in hand, rejects the memorandum of January 3, 1952 by Mr. Dale Fuller as a policy and operational statement for the project.

The Committee earnestly requests your study of this directive and your comment upon it. We hope to have you and the other four consultants meet in the near future to discuss it.

Very sincerely yours,

George E. Probst

George E. Probst, Executive Secretary,
Radio Office, and director of The
University of Chicago Round Table

GEP:PN
Enclosures
cc: William Harley
Dale Fuller
Frank Papp

POLICY AND OPERATIONAL MEMORANDUM STATEMENT BY THE SPECIAL
COMMITTEE OF FIVE ON THE LOWELL-NAEB RADIO ADULT EDUCATION
PROJECT IN REFERENCE TO THE PROGRAM SERIES ON INTERNATIONAL
UNDERSTANDING, PRESENTING EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS ON THE U.S.S.R.

I. There are attached as appendices the following statements:

- A. Copy of letter from Mr. Fletcher to Ralph Lowell making the grant.
- B. Copy of letter from Mr. Fletcher to the members of the Special Committee.
- C. The statement of program development plan as approved by the Board of Directors of the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation on April 5, 1951.
- D. Chief preliminary statement by Philip Mosely outlining proposed series of the U.S.S.R.
- E. Memorandum reporting Harvard program conference on projected educational radio programs on Russia, dated July 26, 1951.

II. STATEMENT OF POLICY, OPERATIONAL PRINCIPLES, AND PROCEDURES:

A. POLICY

The Special Committee of the NAEB, approved officially by the NAEB and appointed by Mr. Scott Fletcher, President of the Fund for Adult Education, is responsible for the execution of this Radio Adult Education project. The Committee has appointed William Harley, Program Coordinator, to serve as the executive officer in charge of this project and to execute the policies laid down by the Special Committee.

In the area of international understanding, one of the four areas of program development in this project, the decision has been taken to present radio programs informing the American people of the things which they should know and which can be communicated about the U.S.S.R.

The Committee makes the following basic assumptions:

- 1) It is in the national interest of the American people and the United States government to have as much reliable information as possible about the Russians.
- 2) This is an appropriate task to be discharged by educators, and the philosophy of the entire project is educational in its purpose.
- 3) Leading American specialists and scholars of Russian life know something about Russia that is of importance to communicate.
- 4) There are differences of opinion among American scholars on various aspects of Russian civilization; these differences should be presented where they are relevant and important.

5) Because of the diversity of views and the sensitiveness of the problems of public relations in this area, every effort should be made to emphasize the intellectual apparatus, the research techniques, the care, and the objectivity that have gone into the scholar's process of finding out as much as he can learn about the Russian system.

6) It is important to communicate to the American people the fact that the opinions of the leading American scholars on Russian life, based on the most careful social science research work and objective procedures, are worth more and deserve more consideration than the opinions of men whose study and experience has been casual and superficial. The central asset of this series is the consultant.

7) The convictions of the members of the Special Committee are that there is a difference between education and propaganda. Our understanding and purpose in this project is to present materials about Russia that are so completely accurate, and are so without any hidden purpose of manipulation, that the resulting programs can be listened to and evaluated by a listener as being educational efforts with no ulterior motives. Only through this can we achieve believability. If we are successful as educators in this project, we will be able to present programs about Russia which we would be proud to present unchanged in any item whether we are at war or at peace with Russia. The content of these programs should be true, irrespective of the state of the political relations between the United States and Russia. The object of the project is to present the truth about Russia insofar as it is known by the most competent American scholars. We believe this to be consistent with the national interest of the American people.

Our conviction is that more knowledge about the U.S.S.R. is essential and desirable for Americans discharging their civic responsibilities.

B. OPERATIONAL PRINCIPLES

1) The central asset and the "star" of the Russian program series is the contribution, work, and knowledge of the consultant.

2) There is a variety of materials about Russian civilization to be presented.

3) Radio form follows content. By this is meant the fact that the particular radio format of presentation is adapted to the needs of the content and materials to be presented about Russia. It is assumed that there are some materials on Russian civilization that offer higher level of communication difficulty than others. It is recognized that this more difficult and intellectually complicated knowledge about some problems on Russia will be more difficult to communicate to a mass audience and will not have a mass appeal in the way that other materials will have which also present important facts about Russian life. Some Russian materials will lend themselves more readily to popularization than others. This does not mean that the more complicated data are thereby to be ignored. It is not a question

of watering the material down educationally. It is a problem of presenting the message for what it is intrinsically, as simply and as appealingly as possible, without jeopardizing the significance of what it says. In some instances a program may have a very wide and popular appeal and in some it may not.

4) Factual accuracy and the integrity of the content come first, and the problem of a program's being so-called "good radio" is secondary. If the first consideration cannot be met, it should not be produced. This project is experimental in its character, particularly in the early stages of the project. It is taken for granted that not every effort will be fruitful. The ideal to be aimed at is the creation of a program with a content and a radio form that has the enthusiastic approval of the consultant, the project director, and the program coordinator.

5) The Committee hopes, since this is an experimental project concerned with a variety of subject matters (thus suitable for various treatments), that a number of different techniques and formats will be represented in the series. Keeping in mind this diversity of program format, ranging from fifteen minute to one-hour programs, and from straight talk through drama and documentary, the Committee recommends that the total number of broadcasts to be produced by June 1, 1952 should be somewhere between twenty-six and forty.

C. STEPS IN DEVELOPING PROGRAMS AND SCRIPTS

1) The list of topics worked out in the program conference on July 24 serves as a general guide in the selection of subjects for the program series.

2) The Committee expects that the Project Director, Mr. Dale Fuller, with the help of the five consultants, who are Professors Merle Fainsod, Harold Fisher, Alex Inkeles, Philip Mosely, and Ernest Simmons, will develop a statement of over-all plan for the whole series of Russian programs. (Attached will be found samples of this procedure as seen in the excellent overall plan drawn up by Walter Goldschmidt for the project area "Ways of Mankind" and the subsequent specific implementation of this plan with a document reporting a proposed series of thirteen scripts and giving full detail on the substantive points to be made by each script with a brief description of the dramatization line that will be used to project the message of the program.) This series is expected to represent a list of those programs which can be done within the following limitations of the project:

- a) Money.
- b) Availability of materials.
- c) Feasibility of acquiring adequate help from key consultants.
- d) Ease and suitability of translation into radio terms.
- e) Participation of key program personnel as talent.
- f) Relative significance of message to be communicated.
- g) Potential American public interest in topic.
- h) Limitations of American public's information.

This overall plan can only be laid out in the first instance by the Project Director. No consultant will have the total view of resources necessary to do this. However, the consultants will be of great value in criticizing the overall plan and in evaluating the relative importance of its parts.

3) After this overall outline of topics has been drawn up, and consultants identified for each topic who have agreed to act as consultants in developing the program on the topic, the Project Director will bring the writer to a first preliminary conference with the consultant. The experience of the members of the Special Committee is that there is no substitute for face-to-face contact between the writer and the expert. This contact must be made at the very beginning. It is impossible for a consultant to play a genuine part in the creative process if he is not in at the very beginning, because when the expert is handed a script it is then at a stage where significant structural changes can no longer easily be made.

4) The consultant is the star of the project. Whenever possible, identify topics that represent work which has been of prime interest to the consultant and is to be found in his published works. The consultant is most likely to take a genuine, thorough interest in a radio program when that radio program is based upon his own work and is so identified to the listening public.

5) Based on discussions with the consultant and reading of materials recommended by him, the writer should prepare a summary statement of the main points which he proposes to make in the script (and/or program) and submit it to consultant for comment and suggestion, and written approval.

6) The above statement submitted by the writer must be approved in writing by both the consultant and the Project Director before actual writing of script begins. After it has been approved, the writer (in collaboration with the producer) will work up a descriptive statement of how it is planned to convert the material into a broadcast, e.g., dramatic format, documentary, interview, etc. This plan, in turn, must be approved in writing by the consultant and Project Director, after which approval the writer should proceed with preparation of the first draft of the script. The word "script" may mean, in any given instance, the script for a dramatic program, a documentary, an interview, and so on; in other words, "script" is not to be construed as applying only to the dramatic format. The Project Director should bring the producer into collaboration with the writer and/or consultant at the proper time required by the particular content to be communicated. Furthermore, the Project Director need not necessarily personally participate in each interview between writer (and/or producer) and consultant, but may arrange such interviews and procedures as will expedite the project; for example, he may supervise numerous scripts (and/or programs) in various stages of development at the same time.

7) In the process of discussion between consultant and writer, the

consultant has the responsibility for insuring accuracy. If in the view of the consultant a particular device in the script or aspect of the script conveys an impression that is not true or justifiable, then his judgment prevails. This approach has been proven to be successful in producing highly significant and effective programs which were good radio. The more accurate and the closer the script is to the life processes of Russian civilization, the greater and more infinite the number of dramatic possibilities.

8) The finished scripts must be approved by the consultant. In the files there must be a letter stating the opinion of the consultant on the script and recording his decision that it justifies broadcast.

9) In certain situations, research memoranda on topics are already in process or completed. The decision to give a memorandum to the writer is to be made by the consultant after examining the research memorandum. The consultant should determine when and what research memorandum should be given to the writer. It is very important that the writer not structure his thinking in advance of consultation.

10) After the finished script has been approved by the consultant, it is then the responsibility of the Project Director to determine whether it is suitable for production. If he believes that further changes should be made, he can suggest them to the consultant and writer. The consultant must approve enough of these changes to make the script suitable for production in the Project Director's view, otherwise the script is not produced. Ideally, all program efforts which have reached the stage of a finished script would be of a quality that would justify production. In practice, this is not going to be possible, and a certain casualty loss must be expected. This is the price that is to be paid in order to give freedom of decision to the consultant.

If the consultant has provided his written approval, and now the Project Director has recorded his written approval that the script should be produced, the next step in the procedure is to send the script to Mr. William Harley, Program Coordinator of the Lowell project, for his approval. After the Program Coordinator has given his approval, the script is produced.

11) It is impractical to have all five consultants read and approve every script. The Project Director is free to get the opinion of anybody about any script. The Program Coordinator is free to get the opinion of anybody about any script. In summary, then, a script approved for production should have attached to it the written statement of approval by the consultant, the Project Director, and the Program Coordinator.

12) In a certain prescribed number of cases, generally the first couple of programs in each series of programs, or those that deviate sharply, the Special Committee will direct the Program Coordinator to make his approval dependent upon approval by the Special Committee.

13) A recorded program is approved for broadcast as a result of being auditioned and approved by the Project Director and the Program Coordinator. In the very early stages of this project, the members of the Special Committee will want to hear the first couple of programs before the Program Coordinator gives his final approval.

14) The Special Committee attaches a suggested statement on credits. The Committee urges that in all possible instances, the name of the responsible consultant will be identified on the program as a means of giving authoritativeness to the materials presented.

15) The Project Director has the responsibility of keeping the Program Coordinator fully informed of the progress of the efforts of the project. The Program Coordinator will make these reports available to Committee members and add his own comments on them.

16) The Program Coordinator will keep in direct touch with the five consultants and report on their participation in and appraisal of the program efforts. This operation is not a rigid line and staff operation with the consultants communicating with the Program Coordinator and Special Committee members only through the Project Director. The needs for future planning and television considerations are part of the elements that make this direct, personal contact desirable. Members of the Committee are free to communicate with consultants.

17) The Committee expects that the consultants will meet as a group several times during the year. The Committee deems it necessary for them to engage in periodic general discussions with the consultants on the success and weaknesses of the program efforts in this Russian series. Since this is the first year of what is expected to be a five-year project, the Special Committee must have assistance from the consultants in blocking out the long-range development of programs which will contribute to international understanding.

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE NAEB ON THE LOWELL PROJECT:

George E. Probst, Chairman
Richard Hull
Harold McCarty
Seymour Siegel
Parker Wheatley

ADOPTED SUNDAY, JANUARY 6, 1952

APPENDIX A: Copy of Letter from Mr. Fletcher to Ralph Lowell

April 24, 1951

Mr. Ralph Lowell, Trustee
The Lowell Institute
26 Newbury Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lowell:

On behalf of the members of the Board of The Fund for Adult Education, I wish to express appreciation to you for working out the plan whereby the Lowell Institute will administer the expenditure of the \$300,000. which the Board has granted to a special committee of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters for planning and producing five series of programs for the Educational Radio Network. This committee is composed of Messrs. Richard Hull, Harold McCarty, George Probst, Seymour Siegel, and Parker Wheatley.

Within the next few weeks, \$100,000. will be sent to the Lowell Institute to cover preliminary expenses of this project, such as program planning meetings and securing talent for research, script writing, program direction, auditions, etc. The balance of the grant will be made available as needed in the planning, preparation, production, and distribution of the several series of programs. It is our understanding that this special committee and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters will set up a board to oversee this project and that this board will employ an administrative staff to manage it. A procedure should be worked out which is satisfactory to you for making withdrawals against the fund.

The Board of The Fund for Adult Education hopes that this grant may be instrumental in bringing important new resources to broadcasting in America and that it will, in some measure, complement the fine work now being done by the Lowell Institute Cooperative Broadcasting Council and by many of the educationally-owned radio stations.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) C. Scott Fletcher
President
Fund for Adult Education

APPENDIX B: Copy of Letter from Mr. Fletcher to Committee of Five

April 24, 1951

Messrs. Richard Hull
Harold McGarty
George Probst
Seymour Siegel
Parker Wheatley

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which has just gone to Mr. Ralph Lowell advising him of the \$300,000. grant to your committee of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters for programs for the Educational Radio Network. The first hundred thousand will be available soon and, with the concurrence of Mr. Lowell, you should work out a responsible administrative procedure.

Several points need to be reemphasized. In addition to servicing the Educational Radio Network, it is understood that, insofar as is possible, these programs will be made available to the BEC in England and to broadcasters in other countries, including South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. In the same way, these programs should be made available, on request, to the Division of Mass Communications of UNESCO and to the Department of State.

The members of the Board of The Fund for Adult Education look upon this grant of \$300,000. as an investment in the production of outstanding educational radio programs. It is their hope that these programs will have sufficient educational and entertainment value as to set new standards for the sustaining programs of the national networks and for sponsors of commercial programs. Furthermore, it is hoped that in many cases the networks and sponsors of commercial programs will take over the formats of your educational programs.

As you know, there are many sponsors of commercial programs who are willing and eager to broadcast radio programs with more mature content, provided they have a large audience value. You know, further, that many professionals in the field of commercial radio feel that owners and operators of educational stations have not proved their ability either to build or hold audiences other than captive audiences.

In approving this grant to the special committee of NAEB, the Board of The Fund for Adult Education feels that it is establishing for the first time a central fund of sufficient dimensions to warrant the use of the best script writing, directing, and acting talent available.

Just as quickly as possible, we hope that you will arrange for your program planning meetings and inform us of the general areas in which you decide to build programs.

The members of the Board of the FAE are intensely interested in your project and have asked me to express their hope that as a result of your joint effort there will emerge programs of great significance and practical value.

Public announcement of this grant now may be made at your discretion, but we should appreciate it if you would send your proposed release to Miss Kay Smallzreid, Room 534, at 575 Madison Avenue in New York, for such suggestions as she may offer.

You appreciate, I am sure, that the activities of the Ford Foundation are of considerable public interest and, during its early months, we feel that it is important to check all public announcements concerning projects which it or The Fund for Adult Education chooses to support.

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) C. Scott Fletcher, President
The Fund for Adult Education

APPENDIX C: Statement of Educational Radio Program Development Plan Approved by Board of Directors of The Fund for Adult Education of The Ford Foundation April 5, 1951

The whole objective of the Project herein proposed is the bringing together of the best minds and the most competent communications skills in delineating and producing programs of educational significance.

The first step in developing such programs is the determination of (a) what should be said, and (b) how can it be communicated most effectively. Accordingly, included in the project is provision for program planning meetings in five important subject areas. Each of these planning meetings would include several area specialists and radio writers and producers. They would go far beyond the mere suggestions of subjects of broadcasts and spell out in detail material to be presented in programs, the frame of reference in which it should be presented, ways and means by which listener involvement can be attained, etc. In other words, the planning work should focus on the question: what is it that the American people ought to know about a given area, and how can that knowledge be communicated to them in such a way as to promote their understanding of the problem?

APPENDIX D: Chief Preliminary Statement by Philip M. Levy Outlining Proposed Series on the USSR

I. What is a totalitarian system?

1. The Party "Line" and how it operates

a. Illustrations:

The Varga controversy; why Varga's interpretation of postwar economic prospects of U.S. was rejected; how the change in line was carried out; effects of the change in line.

The dispute over consolidation of the collective farms; the Khrushchev policy and why it was adopted; how it was curbed and why.

2. Soviet propaganda and how it operates

a. Illustrations:

Soviet emphasis upon present unemployment in the U.S.; quotations from Soviet press and radio, and comments by ex-Soviet citizens.

U.S. policy towards the Philippines and Soviet treatment of it.

Nehru and "non-commitment"; Soviet treatment of developments in India.

3. Soviet system of preventive repression

a. Who is arrested, and why?

b. System of investigation and sentencing; interviews with ex-Soviet "represses."

c. Economic role of slave labor system; its effects.

d. Spread of slave labor system to satellites.

II. Political structure

1. What is the Politburo; its role; important members.

2. Politburo and the economic system.

3. Nature and role of "self-criticism"; illustrations.

4. Soviet elections; nature and meaning.

5. The local officials and the ordinary citizens.

III. Economic development

1. Resources of the USSR; discussion of nature, range, etc.
2. Technology of USSR; its level, prospects for development; original features and copying from West.
3. Advancement in the economic system; channels for rise in status; who runs it.
4. Soviet pattern of industrialization as an alternative path of development for backward areas.
5. The postwar economic plans; fulfillment and failures; the Soviet economy in 1970; economic competition between West and Soviet.
6. Economic exploitation of satellites; concrete illustrations.
7. Soviet standard of living; range of differentiation; standard of various levels illustrated; drags on rise of general standard.

IV. Cultural life

1. Attempted isolation from West; attacks on "cosmopolitanism"; illustrations.
2. Process of writing a novel; review by party and political controls; award of Stalin prize and later rejection; illustrations.
3. Soviet standards in music; conflict between creative inventiveness of artist and detailed standards set from above; illustrations.
4. Soviet natural sciences; achievements and limitations; illustrations.
5. Access to secondary and higher education; political and financial limitations.

V. Social life

1. Housing problems.
2. Problems of care of children and working mothers.
3. Parents' authority and the party.
4. Family life; marriage and divorce.
5. Care of war cripples.

VI. Nationality problems

1. "Family of nations" and renewed emphasis upon superiority of the Great Russian nation.

2. Fate of several smaller nationalities during and after the war.
3. Recurrent purges of national party cadres and intellectuals.
4. Revision of content of cultural life of non-Russian nationalities; rejection of any criticism of Tsarist conquest or oppression in contrast to early Soviet attitude.
5. The linguistic controversy; Stalin's rejection of Marr; its political and cultural significance.
6. Individual programs on several of the principal nationalities.

VII. World affairs and Soviet policy

1. Soviet policy in satellite areas
 - a. Methods of securing control
 - b. Extension of totalitarian domination to all aspects of life; revision of traditions (rejection of Masaryk, e.g., in Czechoslovakia).
 - c. Fear of "national Communism" recurring, as in Yugoslavia
 - d. Military integration
 - e. Economic exploitation
2. Soviet policy in Germany
3. Soviet policy in China
4. Soviet policy in Western Europe
5. Soviet policy toward Japan
6. Intensified Soviet interest in Africa
7. Soviet policy towards Latin America
8. Soviet policy and Pan-Slavism
9. Soviet policy and the Moslems
10. Soviet policy and colonialism
11. Soviet policy towards the UN and its agencies: Security Council; Assembly; "Little Assembly"; UNESCO; World Health Organization; Economic Commission for Europe; ECAFE; etc.

VIII. Bases of Soviet ideology

1. What is "Russian" and what is "Soviet" in the Soviet program?

2. Leadership as crucial factor, versus initiative from below.
3. Bolshevik philosophy of history as a guide to action.
4. Expansionism: "Russian" or "Soviet"?
5. Can Soviet ideology change from within or only be changed from without?
Has it shown and will it show equal intensity of drive?

Types of Programs

- I. Discussions by Western students of Soviet system and policies; preferably with differences of views.
- II. Discussions between American students of problem and ex-Soviet citizens, i.e., ex-Soviet administrators, army people, students, propagandists, literary people and scientists. Some of these can be conducted entirely in English now; others, by fading out Russian voices and leading in English translations.
- III. Arranging to hear an excerpt from Soviet English-language radio and discussion between U.S. and ex-Soviet citizens of its meaning and how a Soviet person interprets it.
- IV. Discussions with ex-Soviet non-Russian (i.e., Tartar, Ukrainian, and others) citizens of the nationality question, in its political and cultural aspects.
- V. Representation of typical discussions or situations from Soviet life, with introductory and injected commentaries; i.e., an author who is defending his manuscript against the censors; a kolkhoz chairman who is brought on the carpet.
- VI. Suitable life-histories of ex-Soviet and satellite citizens, presenting the impact of the Soviet system on them.
- VII. While a good deal of advance planning will be necessary for many of these programs, others must be geared to immediate events or striking news.

Sources of ex-Soviet materials and speakers

- I. Harvard interview project; certainly rich in material; live interviewees can be picked up from its project in New York.
- II. Columbia interview project in literature; much rich material now available.
- III. Research Program on the USSR, under Free Russia Fund, Inc.; will have growing body of material and some English speakers.
- IV. National Committee for a Free Europe; good material on satellite nations and also some satellite citizens with direct experience in the USSR.
- V. Selective utilization of material acquired through various Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and other national committees and cultural organizations.

APPENDIX E:

MEMORANDUM REPORTING HARVARD PROGRAM CONFERENCE ON PROJECTED EDUCATIONAL RADIO PROGRAMS ON RUSSIA -- JULY 24, 1951

Present: Merle Fainsod
Alex Inkeles
Philip Mosely
Ernest Simmons
Parker Wheatley
William Harley
George Probst

Mr. Harley opened the meeting by reviewing the purposes of the project to create educational radio programs in the area of "international understanding" under the Fund for Adult Education grant. Mr. Clyde Kluckholm's letter giving clearance for use of the Russian material was read. This appears in Appendix A. Mr. Kluckholm will talk with Mr. George Barrett, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of information, and inform him of the contemplated project.

The discussion turned to a consideration of the purposes to be achieved in the educational programming about Russia. Briefly reporting some of the main points by way of summary, Mr. Mosely said that the point must be made that Russia is different--that it does operate on its own basis and has a strong force for continuance. There are two fallacies in American public opinion about Russia: the first is that since Russia is different it must be repugnant and weak. To offset this we can show how Russia operates in her own framework. The second fallacy is that the Politburo is omniscient and manipulates us here in America.

Mr. Simmons said that the current concentration in the press on Russia's military might and aggressive intentions, to the exclusion of the extensive social, economic, and cultural developments within the country, was a disservice to the American people and one that our program should try to correct. Mr. Simmons believed we should show what deflation has meant for the Russians, and the kind of life they are really living. We should take the long-range point of view here, demonstrating for example, that Russian economic development may outstrip that of the United States. We should recognize that there is flexibility in their system; for example, when Russians get into an ideological blind alley, they recoil. We should show both the weaknesses and the strengths of the Russian system. Mr. Simmons made the further point that the agricultural revolution now going on in Russia is of great importance and is another example of flexibility and change of policy. We might also attempt to answer the question: how has the Russian character changed since the revolution?

Mr. Fainsod felt that we must correct exaggerated notions of Russia's weaknesses. In our radio programming we should not make the mistake of presenting an over-simple reaction against the current simplification of the general public's views of Russia. It will be helpful to see Russia in perspective and give as much historical depth as possible. Mr. Fainsod further suggested that we intersperse historical data into the current human interest material.

Mr. Inkeles expressed his agreement with all that had so far been said, and briefly pointed out that he had thought of dividing the subject in three ways: first, the historical aspects; second, the system as a system; and third, the everyday life of the Russians. He asked if it would not be possible to create a dramatic family, as in our "soap operas," through whom a history of the collectivization of agriculture could be presented. The overall purpose would be to give a more realistic impression of Russian daily life. In the discussion on daily life and culture which followed, Mr. Simmons made the point that the whole problem of ideological controls in the daily life of a Soviet citizen, and particularly with respect to literature, would be worth probing in our programs.

The question was raised as to what were the main areas that these radio programs ought to try to deal with. Each consultant suggested a list of main points. There was a good deal of agreement and common reference to items in these lists. In brief, they were as follows:

Mr. Mosely selected three main themes:

- 1) How the Russians achieved industrialization through their own efforts--without Point IV or any outside help.
- 2) The concept of the Party "line,"--its origins, its operation.
- 3) The Soviet attitude toward history, and its effect on the problem of how the Russians approach the rest of the world.

Mr. Inkeles made a list as follows:

- 1) The historical development of Communists in Russia
- 2) Soviet ideology
- 3) The Communist Party in Russia
- 4) The Bolsheviks themselves--their character
- 5) The Politburo
- 6) Soviet elections
- 7) What is the Soviet citizen's relation to the government at every point in his life?
- 8) Class structure in Russia
- 9) The industrial life of Russia--the meaning of their work life and the fact that those interviewed seem to report a high work satisfaction. This is one of the areas in which citizens are left some freedom to express themselves.
- 10) Family; church; education.

Mr. Fainsod's list was:

- 1) Historical aspects--development of Bolsheviks.
- 2) The Communist Party--show passivity of the citizens by documents.
- 3) The factory--manager and labor.
- 4) Collective farms.
- 5) Nationality--minority groups.
- 6) Army and secret police.
- 7) Religion. Consultants: John Curtis of Duke University, Timascheff of Fordham, Karpovich of Harvard.

- 8) Control of public opinion. Consultant: Inkeles
- 9) Culture--literature, theater, arts, music, education. Consultant: Simmons.
- 10) How planning works in Russia. Consultants: Bergson and Granick.
- 11) The legal system. Consultant: Hazard.

All agreed that for the historical aspects deRochemont's script on Communism should be consulted. In summing up his list of items, Mr. Fainsod said that in terms of a general framework approach he thought of it as the history of Communism, the Communist Party, life in the Soviet Union, and finally, a summing up in terms of future prospects.

The group then adjourned for lunch and there was a long discussion of possible staff candidates to be project directors. There was a good deal of discussion of the operational problem. It was agreed that Mr. Dale Fuller was the best candidate and Mr. Harley attempted to get in touch with him. Other people suggested as either full-time or part-time assistants were:

- 1) Andrew Haufman - part-time only.
- 2) Warren Wolfe - M.A. and Certificate of Russian Affairs, Columbia University, Russian Institute - as a junior person.
- 3) Mrs. Rosa of New York - part-time.
- 4) Bob Fleischer of CBS.
- 5) Fred Neal - now with Committee on Present Danger.
- 6) Fred Wyle - 25 years old; Harvard, going into Law School; knows all the interview material - might be a full-time assistant - knows all the people in displaced persons community.

Upon returning from lunch, the major effort was directed toward identifying particular individuals who could serve as consultants or participants and contributors to programs in the area. Using Mr. Mosely's initial memorandum titled "Series on the USSR," a large number of people were pinpointed for inquiry. The results of this work are presented in the following enlarged version of Mr. Mosely's memorandum.

SERIES ON THE USSR

(Inkeles suggests two programs on the rise of Bolsheviks as a political party from 1890 on.)

I. What is a totalitarian system?

1. The Party "line" and how it operates.
 - a. Illustrations:

The Varga controversy; why Varga's interpretation of postwar economic prospects of U.S. was rejected; how the change in line was carried out; effects of the change in line.
Consultants: Domar; Barghoorn of Yale.

The dispute over consolidation of the collective farms; the Khrushchev policy and why it was adopted; how it was curbed and why.
Consultants: Wayne Vucinich of Stanford; Dinerstein of Rand.

2. Soviet propaganda and how it operates. Consultant: Inkeles.
 - a. Illustrations:

Soviet emphasis upon present unemployment in the U.S.; quotations from Soviet press and radio, and comments by ex-Soviet citizens.

U.S. policy towards the Philippines and Soviet treatment of it.

Nehru and "non-commitment"; Soviet treatment of developments in India.
 3. Soviet system of preventive repression. Consultant: Fainsod. Large use of interview material.
 - a. Who is arrested, and why?
 - b. System of investigation and sentencing; interviews with ex-Soviet "represees." Consultant: Ernest Hollis of Columbia, who is doing a study of secret police.
 - c. Economic role of slave labor system; its effects. General discussion, fear in regard to responsibility. Consultant: Verzy Glikson of Roosevelt College, author of Tell the West; Bergson; Walter Gaillyson, Association of Former Inmates; documents of Harvard Center.
 - d. Spread of slave labor system to satellites. Elinor Lippert, David Dallin should be brought in to at least one program.
- II. Political structure. Consultant: Mosely. Use American experts. (The judgment is that the Russian citizen knows nothing about points 1 and 2 below; therefore, interviews would be no good.)
1. What is the Politburo; its role; important members. Consultants (for 1 and 2): Mosely, Fainsod, Hazard, Twister.
 2. Politburo and the economic system.
 3. Nature and role of "self-criticism"; illustrations. Interviews.
 4. Soviet elections; nature and meaning. Have citizens discuss.
 5. The local officials and the ordinary citizens. Interviews.
- III. Economic development. Consultants: David Granick, working under Abram Bergson of Columbia; Joseph Berliner and Alex Peskin, assistants to Alex Peskin, assistants to Alex Gerschenkron of Harvard; Evsey Domar of Johns Hopkins.
1. Resources of the USSR; discussion of nature, range, etc.

Consultant: Shimkin of Harvard. "U.S. as a have-not nation compared with Russia."
 2. Technology of USSR; its level, prospects for development; original features, and copying from West.

Consultants: Shimkin of Harvard; Smirnov in New York of Standard Oil of New Jersey; Naidnov of New York. Get some Soviet engineers.
 3. Advancement in the economic system; channels for rise in status; who runs it. Interview material.
 4. Soviet pattern of industrialization as an alternative path of development for backward areas.
 5. The postwar economic plans; fulfillment and failures; the Soviet economy in 1970; economic competition between West and Soviet.

Discussion between American economists. Consultants: Bergson or Gershenkron.

6. Economic exploitation of satellites; concrete illustrations. Interviews with former Hungarian Minister of Finance, Myrardi; with Ripke of Czechoslovakia; with Dodof of Bulgaria.
7. Soviet standard of living; range of differentiation; standard of various levels illustrated; drags on rise of general standard. Interview material. Consultants: Bergson, Berliner. See National Committee for Free Europe - Research on Middle Europe. Director, Edgar P. Dean, Temple 8-9250.

IV. Cultural life. 13 half-hour programs. Consultant: Simmons.

1. Attempted isolation from West; attacks on "cosmopolitanism"; illustrations.
2. Process of writing a novel; review by party and political controls; award of Stalin prize and later rejection; illustrations. Interviews with ex-Soviet novelists in New York. Use Sosin for a couple of weeks. Also Bulygin, his difficulties (speaks English, engineer, technical book)--now in New York City.
3. Soviet standards in music; conflict between creative inventiveness of artist and detailed standards set from above; illustrations. Nicholas Nabokov, composer, in N.Y. in September. Follows Russian music, can give examples of what is denounced and what is approved.
4. Soviet natural sciences; achievements and limitations; illustrations. Turkievich of Princeton University very good - a leading mathematician. How to plan science.
5. Access to secondary and higher education; political and financial limitations. Use ex-Soviet people - several interviews, for example, Arnold Horlick, now working with Professor Anderson, has 80-page chapter to be used in book. Inkeles has manuscript.

V. Social life.

1. Housing problems. One program in which ex-Soviet citizens discuss how hard it is to get an apartment. At bottom of priority list of building.
2. Problems of care of children and working mothers.
3. Parents' authority and the Party.
4. Family life; marriage and divorce. Consultants: Alex and Geiger.
5. Care of war cripples. Social insurance. Discrepancy between what is on books and what they get.

VI. Nationality programs. Consultant

Consultant: Alexander Park of Minnesota on Central Asia.

1. "Family of nations" and renewed emphasis upon superiority of the Great Russian nation. Consultants: Rechetar of Princeton; Luther of Columbia, Tom Weiner of Duke. Pipes is now abroad interviewing in Turkey on Mohammedans. Programs on nationality: Moslems, Ukrainians (consultants: George Luckyj, Russian Institute, Columbia); nationalities during World War II (consultants: Luther, Dallin).

2. Fate of several smaller nationalities during and after the war.
3. Recurrent purges of national party cadres and intellectuals.
4. Revision of content of cultural life of non-Russian nationalities; rejection of any criticism of Tsarist conquest or oppression in contrast to early Soviet attitude. (Ukrainian)
5. The linguistic controversy; Stalin's rejection of Marr; its political and cultural significance. Student of Marr by name of Maria Poltoratzkaya. Consultant: Roman Jacobson of Harvard.

VII. World affairs and Soviet policy. Consultant: Mosely

1. Soviet policy in satellite areas. Consultant: Skilling of Dartmouth
 - a. Methods of securing control
 - b. Extension of totalitarian domination to all aspects of life; revision of traditions (rejection of Masaryk, e.g., in Czechoslovakia)
 - c. Fear of "national Communism" recurring, as in Yugoslavia
 - d. Military integration
2. Soviet policy in Germany
3. Soviet policy in China. Consultant: Allen Whiting of Harvard. Have Lattimore's Mongolian government-in-exile.
4. Soviet policy in Western Europe
5. Soviet policy toward Japan
6. Intensified Soviet interest in Africa. Take what Soviets are writing about it. Jacobsen of Library of Congress. See Melville Herskovits of Northwestern U., and his Institute of African Studies.
7. Soviet policy towards Latin America
8. Soviet policy and Pan-Slavism
9. Soviet policy and the Moslems
10. Soviet policy and colonialism
11. Soviet policy toward the UN and its agencies: Security Council, Assembly, "Little Assembly," UNESCO, World Health Organization, Economic Commission for Europe, ECAFE, etc.

Fainsod suggested that we do a series of historical cases, e.g., 1939 Pact, Brest-Litovsk (take debates in Central Committee by Lenin, Trotsky, etc.), which would show silly predictions by Soviet leadership of Politburo. "Expose of Power Politics Against Inevitable Doctrine of the Soviet Union," Conrad Brant of Harvard on China Crisis of 1926.

VIII. Bases of Soviet ideology

1. What is "Russian" and what is "Soviet" in the Soviet program?
Consultants: Karpovich, Geroid Robinson, George Kennan, Philip Mosely
2. Leadership as crucial factor, versus initiative from below.
3. Bolshevik philosophy of history as a guide to action. See Fainsod suggestion above. Also suggests discussion on dynamics of this system. Consultants: Geroid Robinson; Barry Moore
4. Expansionism: "Russian" or "Soviet"?
5. Can Soviet ideology change from within or only be changed from without?
Has it shown and will it show equal intensity of drive?

Types of Programs

- I. Discussions by Western students of Soviet system and policies; preferably with differences of views.
- II. Discussions between American students of problem and ex-Soviet citizens, i.e., ex-Soviet administrators, army people, students, propagandists, literary people, and scientists. Some of these can be conducted entirely in English now; others by fading out Russian voices and leading in English translations.
- III. Arranging to hear an excerpt from Soviet English-language radio and discussion between U.S. and ex-Soviet citizens of its meaning and how a Soviet citizen interprets it.
- IV. Discussions with ex-Soviet non-Russian (i.e., Tartar, Ukrainian, and others) citizens of the nationality question, in its political and cultural aspects.
- V. Representation of typical discussions or situations from Soviet life, with introductory and injected commentaries; i.e., an author who is defending his manuscript against the censors; a kolkhoz chairman who is brought on the carpet.
- VI. Suitable life-histories of ex-Soviet and satellite citizens, presenting the impact of the Soviet system on them.
- VII. While a good deal of advance planning will be necessary for many of these programs, others must be geared to immediate events or striking news.

Sources of ex-Soviet materials and speakers

- I. Harvard interview project; certainly rich in material; live interviewees can be picked up from its project in New York. Soviet escapees.
- II. Columbia interview project in literature; much rich material now available. Consultant: Simmons. Soviet escapees who are writers - 15 or 20 of them.
- III. Research Program on the USSR, under Free Russia Fund, Inc. - will have growing body of material and some English speakers.
- IV. National Committee for a Free Europe; good material on satellite nations and also some satellite citizens with direct experience in the USSR.
- V. Selective utilization of material acquired through various Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and other national committees and cultural organizations.

Mrs. Solomon Schwartz (Vlarity Alexandroff) - semi-digested material under Margaret Mead's project.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF MAY 29, 1951 MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE TO DISCUSS ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION GRANT-IN-AID OF \$300,000 TO THE LOWELL INSTITUTE IN BEHALF OF THE NAEB.

PRESENT: Robert Hudson (Ex-officio without vote)
Richard Hull
Harold McCarty
George Probst (Chairman)
Seymour Siegel
Parker Wheatley (Arrived at 2:30 PM)

The meeting convened at 11:00 AM. Probst opened the meeting with the problem of making a choice of what to take up first on the agenda. Probst suggested that there was a choice of discussing the general problems relating to the grant or to take up the immediate problem of the appointment of the executive secretary to the Committee to begin work on executing the purposes of the grant.

Siegel and Hull raised the problem of what is the relation between the Ford grant and the Kellogg grant. Are there not some administrative economies and efficiencies that could be achieved by meshing them? Hudson emphasized that the money is given as a grant-in-aid; the money deposited with the Lowell Institute is a program fund; the grant is made on the assumption that the NAEB is a going organization; the purpose of the grant and the reason that the board of directors of the FAE approved it was to create a fund for new and higher quality educational programs.

Siegel and Hull asked would it be possible for the executive secretary for the Ford grant to be responsible also for the securing of programming for the network? Would it be possible to set up a promotion and publicity operation under the Ford grant that would mesh with the Kellogg grant and accomplish some of the general purposes that the Kellogg grant is meant to accomplish? Hudson and Probst said that the executive secretary to this Committee--or director of the producers in these four program areas--should be spending his full time on programming. The Ford Foundation does not want to have a permanent staff set up in relation to this grant. The programs are to be operated on a "set up" basis so that once they are accomplished there are no continuing staff members. Hudson said it might be possible for staff activities of the Kellogg grant that are devoted to audience promotion of the four series of programs developed in the four subject-matter areas to be billed against the Lowell Institute fund. These promotion charges would have to relate directly to the promotion of the programs produced in the four subject-matter areas.

Hull argued that we faced the problem of trying to have a permanent, long-run benefit result from the activity of the Ford grant. If the Lowell money is only a programming fund, once the programs are done and the money is spent, all that we will have will be the programs on tape and there will be no

long-run, permanent improvement of the interests of the NAEB or educational radio. Hull and Siegel argued for giving a strong directive to whoever is appointed as executive secretary that he is a NAEB employee and must be constantly working in the interests of promoting the long-run interests of educational radio and the NAEB, and not simply be producing educational programs. Probst argued that producing educational programs is the purpose of the grant; further, that the achievement of these programs will lead to the development of the long-run interests of educational radio and the NAEB. The renewal and increase in grant of funds in following years for programming and other purposes depends on the job that is done in quality programming. Probst emphasized the need and obligation to produce some high caliber programs in four areas (that we were not obligated to produce "The People Act" series, removing responsibility for programming in this area) and that these programs need not be many in number. Quality is the aim!

There was much further discussion of this problem of the relation of the Ford grant and the Kellogg grant. There was general agreement that, of course, the executive secretary of the Special Committee of NAEB on the Lowell grant should be expected to be alert to seeing the possibility of suggesting program resources for the NAEB network as he did his job traveling through the nation. But there was no agreement on assigning him any responsibility in addition to developing the very finest educational programs to satisfy the terms of the Ford grant. Probst repeated the proposition that the Ford grant-in-aid is a "put up or shut up" situation. The test we were faced with was: could the educational radio directors join in a national cooperative effort to administer a fund for the production of quality educational radio programs in the interest of the citizens? The challenge is: can the educators do this job? If they can, further support for NAEB programs and facilities will be forthcoming. McCarty expressed his belief that the programs must be a demonstration of the talent and ability of the educators to educate through radio and he stated that this talent does exist in education and must be brought out. Hudson agreed, saying that he believed that the programs produced will be the determinant on whether the board of directors of the FAE renew in the following years. Hudson stated his plan to make sure and have the members of the board of directors hear the best programs. He believed these programs would be the determinant on whether there is renewal.

Siegel argued that the members of the board of directors of the FAE didn't have the capacity to judge the programs and in his belief it will be the amount of publicity they see in the daily newspapers and industry press that will get the board of directors to renew. If there is favorable comment on the programs in the industry press, renewal will take place. Siegel argued for the establishment of a New York publicity office that could accomplish this. He argued also for the need of a New York office where a NAEB representative can go to the United Nations or the Red Cross, etc., and ask for a specially produced series for the NAEB network. Hudson and Probst argued that the Ford grant did not provide for or intend that it support a New York office. McCarty said that for many years he had tried to get a New York and a Washington office for the NAEB. Hull pointed out the educational stations need

publicity, programming, and personnel assistance. Hudson pointed out the NAEB network has been externally centered, and the Kellogg grant is intended to encourage and feed into the NAEB network stream the programs from local educational stations. Hudson reminded the Committee again of the fact that the Ford grant is a grant-in-aid. He pointed out that Siegel is the New York representative of the NAEB and is doing a fine job, and that the Ford grant was not intended to do anything but support new programs on a "set up" basis. Siegel raised the question of where were the offices going to be in New York. He pointed out the difficulties he had with his staff in contributing so much resource to the NAEB network. Where will the office of the executive secretary be? Hudson pointed out the NAEB is a going organization with affiliated members who are in possession of facilities scattered all across the nation, that the NAEB was represented as such to the Ford Foundation, and that the Ford grant was not made for the purpose of setting up buildings or buying facilities, or providing things of a technical character since the NAEB was presumed to have these. Probst stated his belief that whoever was executive secretary would have the resources of the University of Illinois in Urbana, the University of Chicago in Chicago, the University of Wisconsin in Madison, the Lowell Institute in Boston, etc., as basing points for operations in those communities. Whatever charges that resulted locally from the going operation (i.e., telephone, secretarial, engineering, etc.) would be billed against the Lowell Institute. Hudson restated that the Ford grant is a grant-in-aid and each institution is to aid as much as possible in the common effort to benefit all. Siegel stated that, of course, he and his New York resources would continue to aid the NAEB, but that the real problem was not being met. Siegel and Hull argued for a much closer supporting relationship than this would seem to mean for the line between the Ford grant and the Kellogg grant.

The Committee then turned to consider candidates for the office of executive secretary to execute the Ford grant. A total of 76 possibilities was considered. At the end of extended discussion, Hull nominated "William Harley, program director of WHA at the University of Wisconsin, as program coordinator for the educational program development project for which the FAE granted money to the Lowell Institute on behalf of the NAEB." Hull's motion went on to state: "William Harley is to explore with and record for the Special Committee of Five program plans in accordance with the Ford grant and execute the programs stipulated by the Special Committee of Five of the NAEB. William Harley is to work with the Special Committee of Five to define the precise and desirable relationships to exist between his function as program coordinator and the network organizational activities of the NAEB. These network organizational activities of the NAEB are defined under terms of the Kellogg grant and will be further defined by the NAEB board of directors. William Harley is to be appointed at a salary of \$10,000 for one year beginning June 1 with an additional \$2,000 to pay the costs of the moving expenses and readjustments of his family plans resulting from his taking this position. William Harley is to prepare a plan of operations and budget and report on such other administrative procedures as may be necessary for a year-long program of operations." Siegel second the motion. It was unanimously adopted. In

further discussion it was made clear that William Harley is to be the administrative arm of this Special Committee of the NAEB in carrying out the terms of the Ford grant. It was agreed that Probst, as chairman, should negotiate with Harley to employ him at the agreed salary.

There was discussion of the problem of whether the salary was sufficient. It was pointed out that the responsibility of the job was very great. It was further pointed out that his was the crucial task on whether sufficient achievement would come to make possible a renewal of the grant. After examination of known salary ranges in various university activities at the University of Wisconsin, University of Illinois, and University of Chicago, and after comparison of this activity with other comparable positions of responsibility, it was agreed that the amount of salary was satisfactory and desirable.

Hull moved and it was adopted unanimously that the letter of transmittal from Mr. Fletcher to Mr. Lowell and the letter of transmittal from Mr. Fletcher to the Committee in making the grant be made a part of the record of these minutes. They are in Appendices A and B.

The problem of auditing, bookkeeping, and fiscal accounting procedures was raised. Hull moved, and McCarty seconded a motion "That William Harley, Ralph Lowell, George Probst, and Parker Wheatley are a committee of four to work out the details of the fiscal procedures." This was unanimously agreed to. Wheatley agreed to ask Ralph Lowell to request a Boston auditing firm to prescribe the desired accounting procedures. It was agreed that William Harley, as executive of the Ford grant-in-aid, would authorize all disbursements and send them to Lowell Institute for countersigning. It was agreed that Probst would be responsible for authorizing Harley's salary and expenses. It was further agreed that it would be desirable to have a weekly trial balance on the expenditures as the grant is in operation in order to have an adequate protection against embarking on projects which, it might develop later, would not be executed for lack of funds.

The problem of program conferences was then raised. Siegel moved and Hull seconded a motion "That William Harley and Probst are empowered to spend up to \$10,000 to develop immediately program conferences." This was passed unanimously. Siegel moved "That Siegel be designated to explore the problems of promotion and publicity, to find out who was available for this work in New York, and consult with William Harley and then report back to the Committee a recommendation for a budget and personnel for a promotion and publicity operation directed from New York." This was seconded by Hull. Hull pointed out that news flows from East to West. After discussion of this motion and the related problem of sub-dividing the tasks of the Committee and making Committee members individually responsible for particular areas where their contribution would be greatest, this motion failed of adoption. Wheatley stated his strong conviction that each member of the Committee should contribute whatever he could in all areas of work facing the Committee, and no task or area should be assigned to any member of the Committee as his sole responsibility.

Probst asked if the Committee would recommend action in certain program planning areas. No action was taken to authorize this. Probst presented several motions, that failed of adoption, to provide for some immediate decision on some series. Hull moved and it was generally agreed to that Harley was authorized to implement program conferences for all four subject matter areas. In the discussion of these areas, the program conference on "Russia and American Foreign Policy" with George Kennan and Philip Mosely came under the following criticisms by McCarty, Siegel, and Hull: (1) The Committee should not be responsible for choosing these men to participate in program conferences; (2) The Committee should not be responsible for anything that was said in any of the programs (McCarty pointing out that he was not responsible for a single thing that was said on WHA); and (3) There should be a general conference bringing together a group of outstanding authorities who would select the people to be turned to for programming direction in the various areas. In reply to this, Probst pointed out that certain areas and scholars had already been identified to the Ford Foundation and that, further, if these areas and specific program suggestions had not been identified, the FAE would not have made the grant in support of program development. It is impossible to secure financial grants for programming without giving some specific ideas about the projected educational programming that is expected to be superior to the current commercial programming. Probst also argued that we, as educational broadcasters, were also faculty members of universities and were also social scientists. We must accept the responsibility that comes to us as people who are criticizing the commercial broadcasting fare. We are educators who are responsible for trying to create better radio than the American people are now being given. As educators, we had to decide what was important as a problem, and turn to the outstanding scholars in universities to aid us in this decision and to tell us what needed to be said about these problems. These authorities, as always, were individually responsible for what was said on each program. But the Committee was responsible for selecting the best men of the best universities.

In an extended discussion the objection was made that the program planning conference on Russia should not come first. In reply it was pointed out that effort was being made to work out a program planning conference with Redfield on the "Study of Man," and that, further, the order of program planning conferences had no necessary relation to the appearance of the actual programs. It might turn out that the development of a series of programs on Russia would involve such effort and take such time that it would very likely be the last series produced rather than the first. In the further discussion it was made explicit that any program done in this series as a result of the efforts of this Special Committee should carry the identification of the responsible scholar and the responsible university or college or educational institution. Probst cited the example of the University of Chicago "Human Adventure" programs always identifying the scholar or scholars at the end of each program who had read and supervised the script and were responsible for its content.

Attached in Appendix C is a statement of the educational radio program development plan approved by the board of directors of the FAE. Also attached is Appendix D containing the text of the memorandum on program planning conferences given to Mr. Fletcher on February 21 to explain plans proposed in development of new educational radio programs worked out in consultation with FAE. Probst said regretfully that the Committee should probably have devoted its entire day to the problems of decisions about the series of educational programs to be developed in the various subject areas of the Ford grant. The grant of money was made by Mr. Fletcher and the board of directors of the FAE to this Special Committee of the NAEB: Richard Hull, Harold McCarty, George Probst, Seymour Siegel, and Parker Wheatley, because they assumed the responsibility of a program production committee. It would be impossible for this Special Committee to discharge its responsibility if it were to ignore in any way the full burden of the responsibility for the decisions involved in creating programs that falls upon it.

Hull arranged that the Special Committee would meet in relation to its programming responsibility to WOI-TV on June 12-13 in Ames, Iowa. It was also agreed that Harley should be there. It was further agreed that the Committee should try to find some time to discuss the problems of educational radio programming in carrying out the terms of the Ford grant and carry on such discussion at some convenient time that is free on June 12 and 13 in Ames, Iowa.

McCarty criticized the proposed series using the Supreme Court judges, since this might not be the best way to present the American heritage. He wished to know where this program subject had come from. Probst replied that it was one of those discussed with Mr. Fletcher as an example of the kind of thing that we would do if we were given the money for these educational programs.

On the problem of the expenses for this meeting, it was agreed that the Committee members should individually send their expenses to William Harley at his office at the University of Wisconsin, and that as soon as the problem of the fiscal procedures had been worked out, William Harley would process these disbursements. Hudson urged McCarty to release Harley so that he would begin work on June 1, 1951.

It was agreed that a full report of these minutes should be gotten out immediately.

The meeting adjourned at five P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

George E. Probst

George E. Probst, Chairman

APPENDIX A

COPY OF LETTER FROM MR. FLETCHER
TO RALPH LOWELL

April 24, 1951

Mr. Ralph Lowell, Trustee
The Lowell Institute
26 Newbury Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lowell:

On behalf of the members of the Board of The Fund for Adult Education, I wish to express appreciation to you for working out the plan whereby the Lowell Institute will administer the expenditure of the \$300,000. which the Board has granted to a special committee of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters for planning and producing five series of programs for the Educational Radio Network. This committee is composed of Messrs. Richard Hull, Harold McCarty, George Probst, Seymour Siegel and Parker Wheatley.

Within the next few weeks, \$100,000. will be sent to the Lowell Institute to cover preliminary expenses of this project, such as program planning meetings and securing talent for research, script writing, program direction, auditions, etc. The balance of the grant will be made available as needed in the planning, preparation, production and distribution of the several series of programs. It is our understanding that this special committee and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters will set up a board to oversee this project and that this board will employ an administrative staff to manage it. A procedure should be worked out which is satisfactory to you for making withdrawals against the fund.

The Board of The Fund for Adult Education hopes that this grant may be instrumental in bringing important new resources to broadcasting in America and that it will, in some measure, complement the fine work now being done by the Lowell Institute Cooperative Broadcasting Council and by many of the educationally-owned radio stations.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) C. Scott Fletcher
President
Fund for Adult Education

APPENDIX B

COPY OF LETTER FROM MR. FLETCHER
TO COMMITTEE OF FIVE

April 24, 1951

Messrs. Richard Hull
Harold McCarty
George Probst
Seymour Siegel
Parker Wheatley

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which has just gone to Mr. Ralph Lowell advising him of the \$300,000. grant to your committee of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters for programs for the Educational Radio Network. The first hundred thousand will be available soon and, with the concurrence of Mr. Lowell, you should work out a responsible administrative procedure.

Several points need to be reemphasized. In addition to servicing the Educational Radio Network, it is understood that, insofar as is possible, these programs will be made available to the BBC in England and to broadcasters in other countries, including South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. In the same way, these programs should be made available, on request, to the Division of Mass Communications of UNESCO and to the Department of State.

The members of the Board of The Fund for Adult Education look upon this grant of \$300,000. as an investment in the production of outstanding educational radio programs. It is their hope that these programs will have sufficient educational and entertainment value as to set new standards for the sustaining programs of the national networks and for sponsors of commercial programs. Furthermore, it is hoped that in many cases the networks and sponsors of commercial programs will take over the formats of your educational programs.

As you know, there are many sponsors of commercial programs who are willing and eager to broadcast radio programs with more mature content, provided they have a large audience value. You know, further, that many professionals in the field of commercial radio feel that owners and operators of educational stations have not proved their ability either to build or hold audiences other than captive audiences.

In approving this grant to the special committee of NAEB, the Board of The Fund for Adult Education feels that it is establishing for the first time a central fund of sufficient dimensions to warrant the use of the best script writing, directing, and acting talent available.

Just as quickly as possible, we hope that you will arrange for your program planning meetings and inform us of the general areas in which you decide to build programs.

The members of the Board of the FAE are intensely interested in your project and have asked me to express their hope that as a result of your joint effort there will emerge programs of great significance and practical value.

Public announcement of this grant now may be made at your discretion, but we should appreciate it if you would send your proposed release to Miss Kay Smallzreid, Room 534, at 575 Madison Avenue in New York, for such suggestions as she may offer.

You appreciate, I am sure, that the activities of the Ford Foundation are of considerable public interest and, during its early months, we feel that it is important to check all public announcements concerning projects which it or The Fund for Adult Education chooses to support.

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) C. Scott Fletcher, President
Fund for Adult Education

Enclosure

APPENDIX C

STATEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL RADIO PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT PLAN APPROVED BY BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION OF THE FORD FOUNDATION APRIL 5, 1951

The whole objective of the Project herein proposed is the bringing together of the best minds and the most competent communications skills in delineating and producing programs of educational significance.

The first step in developing such programs is the determination of (a) what should be said, and (b) how can it be communicated most effectively. Accordingly, included in the Project is provision for program planning meetings in five important subject areas. Each of these planning meetings would include several area specialists and radio writers and producers. They would go far beyond the mere suggestions of subjects of broadcasts and spell out in detail material to be presented in programs, the frame of reference in which it should be presented, ways and means by which listener involvement can be attained, etc. In other words, the planning work should focus on the question, what is it that the American people ought to know about a given area and how can that knowledge be communicated to them in such a way as to promote their understanding of the problem?

The cost of five such program planning meetings is estimated to be \$25,000.00.

Program Areas

The five program areas annotated here are recommended for further study and consideration.

1. The problems of international understanding:

A series of programs on "How America Looks to the World"--helping us to see ourselves, our problems and world problems through the eyes of other peoples and other cultures. Resources of such organizations as the American Friends Service Committee, UNESCO, United Nations, BBC, All-India Radio, Institute of Current World Affairs, etc., would be drawn upon, in addition to scholars and journalists, and publications and other research materials available in the United States.

The estimated budget for a series of 52 programs in this area is \$60,000.00.

2. "The People Act":

A series of narrative-dramas reporting the experience of selected communities and groups of citizens in recognizing their own problems and organizing to take appropriate action for resolving them. This series would be in the same pattern as, if indeed not a continuation of, the series of programs under this title prepared by the 20th Century Fund and broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company. Such demonstrations

of effective citizen action as the work of the Committee for Kentucky; the Bergen-Passaic Community Council; Sharon, Pennsylvania--a study in industrial peace, etc., would be recalled and dramatized for the lessons they teach and the example they set.

The estimated budget for a series of 26 such programs is \$52,000.00.

3. Discussion programs in the area of public affairs:

Several unit series of programs which use the resources of great universities directly and continuously in the immediate service of the democratic process, placing before a wide, thinking audience information and opinion regarding the pressing issues and perennial values.

In developing this area, it is expected that (a) existing discussion programs on educational and commercial radio stations would be screened with a view to rebroadcasting the better ones and thus giving them a wider hearing (America at the Crossroads; Northwestern Reviewing Stand, The American Way, etc.); (b) existing programs would be aided in developing strong sequences of broadcasts on an important issue or problem; and (c) new program series for the Educational Radio Network would be addressed to important non-topical problems which rarely are heard on the American radio. This latter group might include units of three to a dozen programs treating consecutively relevant aspects of such subjects as the military program and American life, the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth, the American judiciary, the military budget, the Hoover Commission report, labor's role in industrial management, etc.

The estimated budget for a series of 26 programs is \$35,000.00.

4. The study of man:

A program dealing with some of the problems posed by the great differences in cultures and human interests, with a view to creating a better understanding of the behavior of the many different groups of people in the major cultures of the world. The programs would draw heavily against the fields of social anthropology, psychology, literature, and sociology. In depicting a highly developed culture, the programs could draw on the resources of the Institute of Russian Studies at Harvard or Columbia in developing the Russian national character as revealed in Russian documents and literature. Likewise, the works of Redfield, Mead, and others, together with their advice and active participation, would make possible authentic programs about primitive peoples giving emphasis to those human characteristics which all men have in common.

The estimated budget for a series of 26 programs is \$35,000.00.

5. On the American heritage:

A series of programs showing how America developed from a circumscribed, 17th century society into a free, democratic society. They would present some of the great historical struggles and debates--the crucibles in which many of America's principles and values were crystallized.

Here, as in other proposed series, programs would be presented in sequential units of varying lengths. For example, units of 13 talks and 13 dramas on "The Jackson Era"; a series of nine broadcasts by the Justices of the U. S. Supreme Court on "Liberty and Law" or "The Course of American Democratic Thought"; and other units developed by consulting area specialists.

The minimum budget requirements for programs in this series is \$57,000.00.

These programs of distinguished content and production quality dealing with persistent issues of continuing interest and importance would immediately be rebroadcast a number of times by each of the educational stations and, also, in future years as a part of a library of educational recordings.

In order that selected portions of the materials produced for broadcast in these five series of programs may receive circulation in print, \$5,000 is budgeted for printing costs. It is expected that commercial publishing firms would undertake to publish some of the material at no cost to the project.

The budget of \$16,000 for central administration of the programs in this Project is intended to supplement the headquarters staff of the Educational Radio Network working out of its University of Illinois headquarters.

The programs in these five subject areas will be made available for rebroadcasting in Canada, England, Australia, South Africa, and for other distribution by the Division of Mass Communications of UNESCO.

APPENDIX D

TEXT OF MEMORANDUM ON PROGRAM PLANNING CONFERENCES GIVEN TO MR. C. SCOTT FLETCHER FEBRUARY 21, 1951 TO EXPLAIN PLANS PROPOSED IN DEVELOPMENT OF NEW EDUCATIONAL RADIO PROGRAMS WORKED OUT IN CONSULTATION WITH FAE

In the first area, "America and Russia," it is proposed that consultations begin first with Philip Mosely, George Kennan, and Anatole Mazour. Other authorities would be added on the advice of these men. An agenda for the two-day conference would be worked out in advance. As a general rule, each conference would divide into two working groups of three subject area experts and three educational broadcasters in each group.

In the second area, "Problems of American Foreign Policy," it is proposed that consultations begin first with Walter Lippmann, Hans Morgenthau, and Robert Redfield.

In the third area, "America and India," it is proposed that consultations begin with Phillips Talbot, Director of the Institute of Current World Affairs.

In the fourth area, "America and China," it is proposed that consultations begin with F. Fairbank of Harvard and Albert Ravenholt of the Chicago Daily News and Herrlee Creel of the University of Chicago.

In the fifth area, "Principles of a Free Society" (which deals with the foundations of the American Commonwealth), it is proposed that consultations begin with Harold Lasswell, Robert Carr, Malcolm Sharp, Edward Levi, and Charles Merriam.

Appropriate people will be added as they are suggested and their relevance becomes apparent. It is expected that program suggestions might include things ranging as far away as asking for the cooperation of All-India Radio and the BBC in providing certain programs. Or Supreme Court Justices Douglas and Black may be asked to undertake a series of talks on "The American Guarantees of Freedom."

These conferences for program ideas would be pushed as rapidly as possible and it is hoped they would be concluded in April. A grant of \$30,000.00 is needed to make them possible.

MEMORANDUM TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF FIVE OF THE NAEB:

Mr. Richard Hull
Mr. Harold McCarty
Mr. Seymour Siegel
Mr. Parker Wheatley
cc Mr. William Harley

SUBJECT: CONFERENCE WITH MR. CHARLES E. MERRIAM, CONSULTANT TO THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND CIVIC DISCUSSION PROGRAM AREA AND CONSULTANT TO THE TOTAL LOWELL ADULT EDUCATION BY RADIO PROGRAMMING PROJECT - Thursday, November 15, 1951, 3:00 P.M.

Mr. Harley and I had a two-hour conference with Mr. Merriam. We discussed the procedures and priorities of action within this area of setting up a project to do discussion programs on civic education. Mr. Harley is to see Mr. Lasswell on his next trip East. He is to consult with Mr. Lasswell, Mr. Donald K. Price of the Public Administration Clearing House, Mr. Frank Bane, Mr. Herbert Emerick, Mr. Howard Myers, and Mr. Robert Culkins to search for the right man to head up the Washington office for the production of talk programs on civic affairs.

Mr. Merriam stated that he would:

- 1) Prepare a statement on the function of clarification in civic education. This statement would attempt to lay the basis of the political philosophy that underlies the contribution that we are trying to make to civic education and give an overall rationale for the project (it goes without saying that among other things, this statement will be of service to us in preventing us from falling into political difficulties where our programs might be accused of being "leftist" or "rightist" or whatever).
- 2) Prepare a statement on how radio programming could be projected to increase the amount of individual initiative and participation in the society.
- 3) Prepare a suggested list of members of a civic broadcasting council to serve as the overall top brass on this project. This list would be worked out with Mr. Lasswell.
- 4) Prepare the way for Mr. Harley in working with the Public Administration Clearing House, CED, Brookings Institute, etc.
- 5) Prepare a suggested list of subjects for radio presentation, this list, of course, being screened by Mr. Harley and then by the Washington project director before any of the suggestions are carried out.
- 6) Prepare a long-range statement of aims and efforts in this whole field of the Lowell civic education project, this to be done with the help of Mr. Lasswell.

7) Examine a few of the scripts in the Jefferson series and supply the official blessing on why it is important for Jefferson's thought to be presented to the American public, and also make an estimate on the educational effectiveness of the scripts.

Mr. Merriam is also serving in an advisory capacity to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, which will produce an issue next September that aims at clarification of the 1952 political campaign. He proposes to fit the work of this issue of the Annals into the effort that we are undertaking. Mr. Merriam's article on clarification will also probably appear in these Annals.

Our financial arrangements with Mr. Merriam were completed. Five thousand dollars is being deposited in an account under his sole supervision here at the University of Chicago and is to be devoted to the problems of research and to expenses in connection with work on this project of developing a program of civic education that will be effective on radio. In the event of Mr. Merriam's death, this money will move under the control of Mr. Lasswell.

Mr. Harley is to go East and employ a project director by the end of the month of December. Our plan is to attempt to go into operation when Congress begins meeting in January.

A great number of other things were discussed but these are the highlights. Action by the special committee of five will be necessary on a number of the next steps in this situation, particularly in examining the proposed list of members of the civic broadcasting council.

Faithfully yours,

George E. Probst

George E. Probst

GEP:PN

JEFFERSON'S STEADILY RISING STAR

(From a review of Nathan Schachner's new biography
"Thomas Jefferson", New York Times, Dec. 2, 1951)

by

Adrienne Koch, author of "Jefferson
and Madison: The Great Collaboration."

The star of Thomas Jefferson continues to rise. Americans, made conscious in this generation of the real and potent danger of tyranny and totalitarianism, turned in the Thirties, with the logic of self-interest, to the inspiration and works of the finest democratic mind in this nation's history. What began there in the way of fresh studies of Jefferson's mind and his "lengthening shadow" of democratic influence, was keyed to new majesty with the preparation of the full writings of Thomas Jefferson.

"The Papers of Thomas Jefferson", four volumes of which have already appeared, is conceived on the grand scale of fifty-two volumes. At the same time, Dumas Malone's comprehensive five-volume biography (the second volume was published in October) is breaking new ground, departing from accepted myths and distortions about its complex and ever-fascinating subject. It is hardly surprising, in this atmosphere of recrudescent democratic theory, that even those who originally gave their hearts to Hamilton, experience some historic impatience with the specialized contribution of that important figure, and seek broader vistas such as Jefferson, the humanist, can provide....since these two handsome volumes are more comprehensive than previous biography in the twentieth century (Randall's larger "Life of Jefferson" belonging, in more than the chronological sense, to the nineteenth century) they will surely earn themselves a considerable reading public. They will not, however, satisfy students of Jefferson with anything approaching the degree of intellectual satisfaction that Dumas Malone's "Jefferson and His Time" is creating. In Malone's work one finds a combination of the most meticulous scholarship, the most courteous acknowledgment of debt to those who have provided materials or interpretations of Jefferson, and the most genuine maturity of judgement and interpretation....a combination that together with gracious prose promises to produce the definitive biography of Jefferson for our century.

H. A. E. B. EXPENSES
June 1 thru Nov. 30
1951

ADMINISTRATION

PROGRAM COORDINATOR

Salary	\$6,000.00	
Travel & Expenses	3,015.05	
Secretarial Services	492.43	
Telephone & Telegraph	357.25	
Miscellaneous	1.48	
		\$9,866.21

REVOLVING FUND

500.00

TRUSTEE OF THE LOWELL INSTITUTE

Bookkeeping	390.00	
Supplies	38.54	
		428.54

COMMITTEE OF FIVE

Travel and Expenses	1,845.43	
Miscellaneous	62.40	
		1,907.83

TOTAL ADMINISTRATION EXPENSES THROUGH
OCTOBER 30, 1951

\$12,702.58

Administration Expenses carried forward

\$12,702.58

PRODUCTION

PROGRAM CONFERENCE

Consultants

Fees

Expenses

Committee Members

Secretarial Services

\$8,095.00
1,277.91

\$9,372.91

15.19

TOTAL PROGRAM CONFERENCE EXPENSE

\$9,388.10

PRODUCTION

Printing

11.68

PROGRAM SERIES

U. S. S. R. SERIES

Administration

Director

Office Expenses:

Secretarial Service

Supplies

Tel. & Tel.

Travel & Expense

\$ 1.30
7.50
132.60

\$4,200.00

111.40

1,200.51

5,511.91

Program Preparation
Consultations and Research

Board of S

Consultant

Production

Producer

\$ 362.50
1,000.00

1,362.50

3,750.00

TOTAL U. S. S. R. SERIES EXPENSE

10,651.41

\$10,651.41

\$9,399.70

\$12,702.58

Carried forward

Carried Forward

\$10,654.41

\$9,399.78

\$12,702.58

PRODUCTION (Continued)

PROGRAM SERIES (CONTINUED)

JEFFERSON SERIES

Administration

Director

\$3,000.00

Office Expense

Supplies

\$ 29.53

Tel. & Tel.

62.95

Travel & Expense

164.77

Program Preparation

\$3,227.72

Consultation and Research

Consultant

1,500.00

Production

1,000.00

2,500.00

5,727.72

TOTAL JEFFERSON SERIES EXPENSE

WAYS OF HANKIND SERIES

Administration

Director

1,800.00

Office Expense

Secretarial Services

\$1,155.46

and supplies

Tel. & Tel.

24.64

Travel & Expense

1,180.10

3,933.69

Program Preparation

Consultation and Research

Research Assistant

650.00

Writing Scripts

1,000.00

1,650.00

TOTAL WAYS OF HANKIND SERIES EXPENSE

5,583.69

\$21,965.82

\$9,399.78

\$12,702.58

Carried Forward

Carried Forward

\$21,965.82

\$9,399.78

\$12,702.58

PRODUCTION (continued)

PROGRAM SERIES (continued)

PUBLIC AFFAIRS SERIES

Maintenance

Travel and expense

\$175.87

TOTAL PUBLIC AFFAIRS SERIES EXPENSE

175.87

TOTAL PROGRAM SERIES EXPENSE

22,111.69

TOTAL PRODUCTION EXPENSE

21,511.17

TOTAL ADMINISTRATION AND PRODUCTION EXPENSE
for six months ending November 30, 1951

14,214.05

BALANCE IN HAND on November 30, 1951

55,755.95

\$100,000.00

December 4, 1951

REVISED BUDGET - JEFFERSON SERIES

ADMINISTRATION

*Director	\$4,000	
Travel & Expenses	1,500	
Office Expenses		
Secretary ($\frac{1}{2}$ time)	1,000	
Supplies	200	
Telephone & Telegraph	<u>300</u>	\$7,000

PROGRAM PREPARATION

Consultation & Research	7,000	
Writing		
Script	7,500	
Music	7,500	
Production		
*Producer	4,000	
Talent	17,500	
Technical Costs	<u>13,500</u>	58,000
(Engineering, Recording Studio)		
		<hr/>
		\$65,000

COMMITMENTS

Papp: \$1,000 per mo. Aug. 1 - Feb. 1 min., April 1 max.

Malone: \$1,000 for Prog. Plan; \$250 @ prog. blueprints with guarantee of \$2,500 min.; \$50 per diem for consultation.

Wishengrad: \$750 @ Scripts, min. of six (\$4,500)

*Papp serves as Producer-Director; hence salary divided between administrative and production responsibilities.

December 4, 1951

REVISED BUDGET - WAYS OF MANKIND

ADMINISTRATION

Director	\$ 6,000	
Office Expenses		
Secretarial	1,600	
Supplies	1,400	
Telephone & Telegraph	1,000	
Travel & Expenses	<u>4,000</u>	\$14,000

PROGRAM PREPARATION

Consultation and Research

Consultants	2,000	
Research Assistants	1,000	

Writing

Scripts	7,500	
Music	1,250	

Production

Producers	3,250	
Talent	5,000	
Technical Costs	<u>11,000</u>	31,000
(Engineering, Recording Studio)		
		<u>\$45,000</u>

COMMITMENTS

32 ✓

Goldschmidt: 9 mos., Sept. 1 - June 1 (\$6,000)

Oreckovsky, Ass't. to Dir.: 9 mos. \$325 per (\$2,925)

Lister Sinclair, Len Peterson: \$500 per script,
min. of 5 each plus R.T. fare Toronto -
Los Angeles (\$5,000)

THE UNCENSORED .. UNVARNISHED .. UNBIASED TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA
TODAY!

"people under
COMMUNISM"

a revealing,
factual series of
radio programs
designed with respect
FOR ALL AMERICANS

Based on documented evidence ... almost 500
personal interviews with former Soviet
citizens and officials ... the accumulated
knowledge of world-recognized authorities
on the power and intentions of the Soviet Union.

Here is a sincere, thorough and searching investigation of Soviet Russia ---
highlighting its strengths and its weaknesses. In dramatic form and authenticated
with the advice and assistance of the following distinguished American scholars:-

Professor Phillip E. Mosely of Columbia University
Professor Merle Fainsod of Harvard University
Professor Harold H. Fisher of Stanford University
Professor Ernest J. Simmons of Columbia University
Professor Alex Inkeles of Harvard University

presented by
THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS

written by
David Driscoll - Milton Geiger - Joseph Mindell - Ralph Tangney
with
Dale Fuller as Project Supervisor

Original music composed and conducted by

Wladimir Selinsky

Produced and Directed by

Frank Papp

SEVEN FULL HOUR PROGRAMS

1. Terror as a System of Power
2. Music to Order
3. The Men Who Make the MIGs
4. Drama to Order
5. Literature to Order
6. Pattern of World Conflict
7. The Music & the Dream

PLUS 13 HALF-HOUR TALKS AND
INTERVIEWS AND A SPECIAL
DOCUMENTARY DRAMA PRODUCED
BY THE BRITISH BROADCASTING
CORPORATION -

"THROUGH THE IRON CURTAIN"

The National Association of Educational
Broadcasters is composed of universities,
colleges, school systems and public service
agencies which are engaged in non-commercial
educational broadcasting through their own
institutionally-owned AM, FM or Television
stations, or through the facilities of commer-
cial stations.

A partial list of the more than 100
stations which have already scheduled
"PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM"

WNYC - Sundays at 5:00 p.m.

These presentations are made possible
under a grant from the Fund for Adult
Education established by the Ford
Foundation.

For Mature Radio Tune to the Educational
Stations in Your Community

LISTEN TO "WAYS OF MANKIND" another distinguished NAEB series to be heard soon.

88x



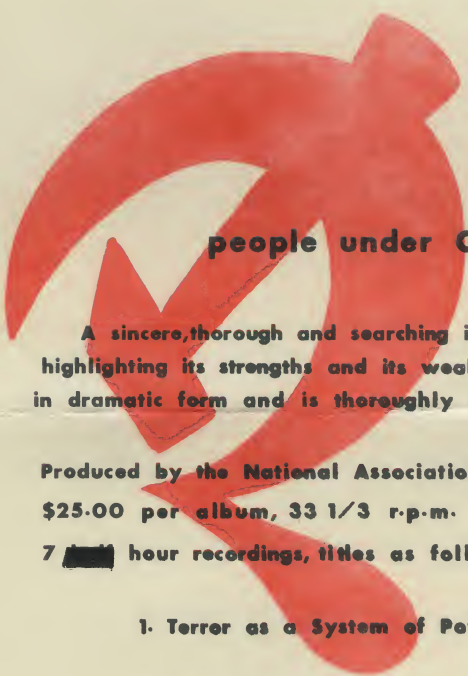
PEOPLE

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**Order From : Audio-Visual Aids Service
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University of Illinois
Champaign, Illinois**

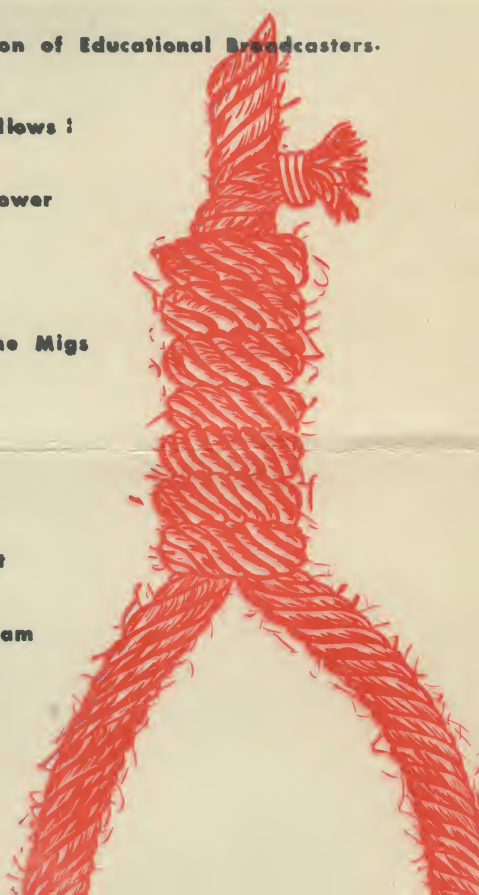


people under COMMUNISM

A sincere, thorough and searching investigation of Soviet Russia, highlighting its strengths and its weaknesses. The series is presented in dramatic form and is thoroughly authenticated and documented.

**Produced by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.
\$25.00 per album, 33 1/3 r.p.m.**

7 hour recordings, titles as follows :

- 1. Terror as a System of Power**
 - 2. Music to Order**
 - 3. The Men Who Make the Migs**
 - 4. Drama to Order**
 - 5. Literature to Order**
 - 6. Pattern of World Conflict**
 - 7. The Music and the Dream**
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Radio Followups

In a striking switch in mood from last week's initial program on WNYC's "People Under Communism," which dealt with the gruesome activities and repressions of the secret Soviet police, Sunday's (14) second full-hour segment, "Music to Order," discussed the artistic degradation of first-rank Soviet composers writing music on a party line.

The program was lighter, gayer and in many ways more appealing—but in no way less impressive or important—than the first one. It was another illuminating chapter in this vital adult series, prepared by the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education, to show the power and intentions of the Soviet Union so that we may be on the alert against them.

Format was panel-like, with Dr. Ernest J. Simmons of Columbia who prepared the program, acting as moderator, and composers Deems Taylor and Henry Cowell, and musicologist Nicolas Slonimsky, as his guests. Subject-matter mainly concerned itself with the famed 1948 decree of the Soviet Central Committee denouncing "formalism" and western bourgeois tendencies in Soviet music, and the effect of this resolution on the Big Four in Soviet music: Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian and Miaskovsky.

Panel discussed variations in Soviet policy, changes in music, effect of party interference, etc. Slonimsky was the most-informed and most voluble, even playing different music snatches at times to buttress his remarks. Prof. Simmons played from various composers' works and read official Soviet proclamations, to give point to the discussion. It was pointed out that though Shosty and Khacha miserably recanted against the tendency of "formalism" (having form only, and lacking in content) in their music, Prokofiev didn't recant completely.

Prof. Simmons showed how destructive Soviet controls had become, and how musical composition had deteriorated. He played bits from Shosty's oratorio, "Song of the Forest," written after 1948. Slonimsky thought it did violence to Shosty's musical integrity; Cowell thought "wicked western influences" were still present; Taylor said that Shosty's musical future was now in his past.

Prof. Simmons offered bits from Shosty's "Seventh" (Leningrad) Symphony, hailed at first as great music, denounced later as deviant. Panel discussed its merits. And so the give-and-take went, for an hour of fascinating, revealing talk.

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PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM
(Error as a System of Power)
With Alexander Scourby, narrator;
Dr. Merle Fainsod, others
Writer: David Driscoll
Producer-director: Frank Papp
60 Mins., Sun., 5-7 p.m.
Sustaining
WNYC, N.Y.

Because it feels that Russia has become an international menace, and that a correct estimate of its power and intentions is vital to our well-being, the National Assn. of Educational Broadcasters has prepared this impressive series, with aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education. Prepared with great care, under supervision of authorities, and presented with imagination and skill, this series assumes importance as top radio programming as well as first-rate pubeservice. Certainly the opening program Sunday (7), "Error as a System of Power," was that important.

This is an adult, serious series, with little or no concession to the frivolous or superficial hearer. This doesn't mean that it's not fast-moving, dramatic or exciting; it's all of these. In addition, it is informative, filling a sharp need. Based on documented evidence about the power and purposes of the USSR, the series' first program was a discourse on Russian revolutionary history with accent on the NKVD, or secret Soviet police.

The material wasn't new. But it was sorted and rearranged for effect. "Error has become commonplace," said Harvard Prof. Merle Fainsod, who helped prepare this segment and spoke on it. But we need to know how it developed and operates, he added, in order to prevent the further spread of fear and terror. In alternate narration, quotation and dramatization, the program discussed forced labor, concentration camps, the several "show" trials, the various purges, etc. Final 10 minutes, with a Warsaw Jewish lawyer telling of his mysterious arrest, imprisonment, experiences in a work camp, and his final escape, was perhaps the most moving and dramatic.

But the whole program was an intelligent discussion of the use of terror, the system of tight political control, in a dictatorship, that was terrifying and impressive.

Bron.

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THE WAYS OF MANKIND
(A Word In Your Ear)
With Prof. Walter Goldschmidt,
others
H. Writer: Lister Sinclair.
Producer-director: Andrew Allan
30 Mins., Sun., 1 p.m.
Sustaining
WNYC, N.Y.

This is the second series put on within two weeks by the National Assn. of Educational Broadcasters, through the assistance of the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education, and WNYC should be (and probably is) proud to present it. Together with last week's "People Under Communism" series, this presentation, if nothing else, is eloquent rebuttal to the short-sighted view of the official who suggested that WNYC could be eliminated from Gotham broadcasting as an economy move. The station that carries such programming is a boon to a community.

As for itself, "The Ways of Mankind" is a 13-week, half-hour series, exploring the origin and development of customs and folkways in various parts of the world, with the idea of helping people to get along with each other by better understanding each other. It's an intriguing, adult series, judged by Sunday's (14) opener.

This program, titled "A Word In Your Ear," was a study of languages and words as they affect peoples, cultures, intercourse, behavior, etc. Language reflects culture, was the theme. The program went on to expound this by instances of differences in speech; by differences in application of words in various tongues and lands. Examples of meanings of words to the Eskimo, the Arab, the Indian, the Chaucerian Englishman, were given. There were oddities listed in usage of words by various peoples.

Instead of this being boring or pedantic, the half-hour was fascinating, a serious subject being handled lightly, imaginatively and wittily. Prof. Walter Goldschmidt, of the U. of California, who supervised the series, closed the airer with a discussion of language's "subtle but pervasive in-fact in culture," showing how we can share the experience of other peoples, other times, other places, through a study of words.

Studies in education, ethics, religion, authority, technology, art, the family, are to follow in this series. Their genesis, preparation and production, if Sunday's show is a guide, was an inspiration.

Bron.

Prof. Simmons offered bits from Shosty's "Seventh" (Leningrad) Symphony, hailed at first as great music, denounced later as deviant. Panel discussed its merits. And so the give-and-take went, for an hour of fascinating, revealing talk.

PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM

Script No. 1

(Expense)

Stenographic Bureau..... 25.16
(mimeo., assembling, stapling)

NAEB

stencils - 42 x \$.08 equals .. 3.36

labor - 13.5 hrs x 1.15 15.53

18.89
\$ 74.05

WAYS OF MANKIND SCRIPTS AND OUTLINE

PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM SCRIPTS--MEN WHO MAKE THE MIGS, PATTERN OF WORLD CONFLICT,
TERROR AS A SYSTEM OF POWER, THE MUSIC AND DREAM

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